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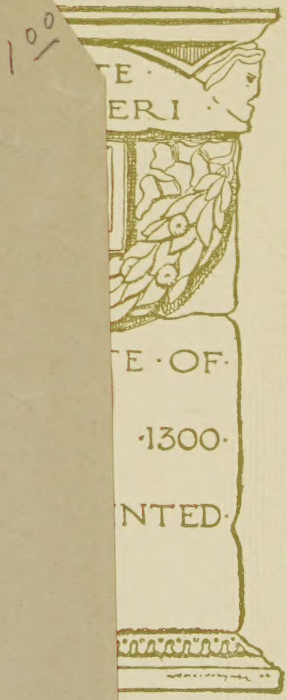

THE
TEMPLE
CLASSICS

THE PARADISO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI

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After Botticelli
PARADISO III, 19-33

THE PARADISO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI

MCMXLI PUBLISHED BY J·M·DENT & SONS LD ALDINE HOUSE LONDON W C

Supremely may be said absolutely or with respect to such an one. None partaketh God supremely in the absolute sense, but supremely with respect to himself. For each one partaketh him so largely, not that he may not be partaken more, but that he may not more partake him, because he may not advance beyond, and is utterly content with that state which he hath.

BONAVENTURA.

PARADISO

SUBJECT matter (1-12) and invocation (13-36). The sun is in the equinoctial point. It is midday at Purgatory and midnight at Jerusalem, when Dante sees Beatrice gazing at the sun and instinctively imitates her gesture, looking away from her and straight at the sun (37-54). The light glows as though God had made a second sun, and Dante now turns once more to Beatrice who is gazing heavenward. As he looks his human nature is transmuted to the quality of heaven, and he knows not whether he is still in the flesh or no (55-75). They pass through the sphere of fire and hear the harmonies of heaven, but Dante is

Paradiso Terrestre

La gloria di colui che tutto move
per l' universo penetra, e risplende
in una parte più, e meno altrove.
Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende
fu' io; e vidi cose che ridire
nè sa nè può qual di lassù discende;
perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
nostro intelletto si profonda tanto,
che retro la memoria non può ire.
Veramente quant' io del regno santo
nella mia mente potei far tesoro,
sarà ora materia del mio canto.
O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro
fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,
come dimandi a dar l' amato alloro.
Infino a qui l' un giogo di Parnaso
assai mi fu, ma or con ambo e due
m' è uopo entrar nell' aringo rimaso.
Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
sì come quando Marsia traesti
della vagina delle membra sue.

bewildered because he knows not that they have left the earth, and when enlightened by Beatrice he is still perplexed to know how he can rise, counter to gravitation (76-99). Beatrice, pitying the delirium of his earthly mind, explains to him the law of universal (material and spiritual) gravitation. All things seek their true place, and in the orderly movement thereto, and rest therein, consists the likeness of the universe to God. Man's place is God, and to rise to him is therefore natural to man. It is departing from him that (like fire darting downwards) is the anomaly that needs to be explained (100-142).

The glory of God

The All-mover's glory penetrates through the universe, and re-gloweth in one region more, and less in another.

In that heaven which most receiveth of his light, have I been; and have seen things which whoso descendeth from up there hath nor knowledge nor power to re-tell;

because, as it draweth nigh to its desire, our intellect sinketh so deep, that memory cannot go back upon the track.

Nathless, whatever of the holy realm I had the power to treasure in my memory, shall now be matter of my song.

The poet's prayer

O good Apollo, for the crowning task, make me a so-fashioned vessel of thy worth, as thou demandest for the grant of thy beloved laurel.

Up till here one peak of Parnassus hath sufficed me; but now, with both the two, needs must I enter this last wrestling-ground.

Into my bosom enter thou, and so breathe as when thou drewest Marsyas from out what sheathed his limbs.

Paradiso Terrestre

O divina virtù, se mi ti presti
tanto che l' ombra del beato regno
segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,
venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno,
e coronarmi allor di quelle foglie,
che la materia e tu mi farai degno.
Sì rade volte, padre, se ne coglie,
per trionfare o Cesare o poeta,
colpa e vergogna dell' umane voglie,
che partorir letizia in sulla lieta
delfica deità dovria la fronda
Peneia, quando alcun di sè asseta.
Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda :
forse retro da me con miglior voci
si pregherà perchè Cirra risponda.

Salita

Surge ai mortali per diverse foci
la lucerna del mondo ; ma da quella,
che quattro cerchi giunge con tre croci,
con miglior corso e con migliore stella
esce congiunta, e la mondana cera
più a suo modo tempera e suggella.
Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera
tal foce quasi, e tutto era là bianco
quello emisperio, e l' altra parte nera,
quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco
vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole.
Aquila sì non gli s' affisse unquanco.
E sì come secondo raggio suole
uscir del primo, e risalire in suso,
pur come peregrin che tornar vuole ;
così dell' atto suo, per gli occhi infuso
nell' imagine mia, il mio si fece,
e fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.

O divine Virtue, if thou dost so far lend thyself to me, that I make manifest the shadow of the blessed realm imprinted on my brain, Invocation

thou shalt see me come to thy chosen tree and crown me, then, with the leaves of which the matter and thou shalt make me worthy.

So few times, Father, is there gathered of it, for triumph or of Cæsar or of poet,—fault and shame of human wills,—

that the Peneian frond should bring forth gladness in the joyous Delphic deity, when it sets any athirst for itself.

A mighty flame followeth a tiny spark; perchance, after me, shall prayer with better voices be so offered that Cirrha may respond.

The lantern of the universe riseth unto mortals through divers straits; but from that which joineth four circles in three crosses

he issueth with more propitious course, and is united with a more propitious star, and doth temper and stamp the mundane wax more after his own mood.

Almost this strait had made morning on that side and evening on this; and there that hemisphere all was aglow, and the other region darkling; Noonday

when I beheld Beatrice turned on her left side and gazing on the sun. Never did eagle so fix himself thereon.

And even as the second ray doth ever issue from the first, and rise back upward (like as a pilgrim whose will is to return);

so from her gesture, poured through the eyes into my imagination, did mine own take shape; and I fixed mine eyes upon the sun, transcending our wont.

Salita Molto è licito là, che qui non lece
alle nostre virtù, mercè del loco
fatto per proprio dell' umana spece.
Io nol soffersi molto, nè sì poco
ch' io nol vedessi sfavillar dintorno,
qual ferro che bogliente esce del foco.
E di subito parve giorno a giorno
essere aggiunto, come quei che puote
avesse il ciel d' un altro sole adorno.
Beatrice tutta nell' eterne rote
fissa con gli occhi stava : ed io in lei
le luci fissi, di lassù remote.
Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,
qual si fe' Glauco nel gustar dell' erba,
che il fe' consorto in mar degli altri dei.
Trasumanar significar *per verba*
non si poria ; però l' esemplo basti
a cui esperienza grazia serba.
S' io era sol di me quel che creasti
novellamente, Amor che il ciel governi,
tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti.
Quando la rota, che tu sempiterni
desiderato, a sè mi fece atteso,
con l' armonia che temperi e discerni,
parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso
dalla fiamma del sol, che pioggia o fiume
lago non fece mai tanto disteso.
La novità del suono e il grande lume
di lor cagion m' accesero un disio
mai non sentito di cotanto acume.
Ond' ella, che vedea me, sì com' io,
a quietarmi l' animo commosso,
pria ch' io a domandar, la bocca aprio ;

Much is granted there which is not granted here to our powers, in virtue of the place made as proper to the human race. Beatrice and Dante

I not long endured him, nor yet so little but that I saw him sparkle all around, like iron issuing molten from the furnace.

And, of a sudden, meseemed that day was added unto day, as though he who hath the power, had adorned heaven with a second sun.

Beatrice was standing with her eyes all fixed upon the eternal wheels, and I fixed my sight, removed from there above, on her.

Gazing on her such I became within, as was Glaucus, tasting of the grass that made him the sea-fellow of the other gods. Glaucus

To pass beyond humanity may not be told in words, wherefore let the example satisfy him for whom grace reserveth the experience.

If I were only that of me which thou didst new-create, O Love who rulest heaven, thou knowest, who with thy light didst lift me up.

When the wheel which thou, by being longed for, makest eternal, drew unto itself my mind with the harmony which thou dost temper and distinguish, Harmony of the Spheres

so much of heaven then seemed to me enkindled with the sun's flame, that rain nor river ever made a lake so wide distended.

The newness of the sound and the great light kindled in me a longing for their cause, ne'er felt before so keenly.

Whence she who saw me even as I saw myself, to still my agitated mind, opened her lips, ere I mine to ask ;

Salita e cominciò : " Tu stesso ti fai grosso
col falso imaginar, sì che non vedi
ciò che vedresti, se l' avessi scosso.
Tu non se' in terra, sì come tu credi ;
ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito,
non corse, come tu ch' ad esso riedi."
S' io fui del primo dubbio disvestito
per le sorrise parolette brevi,
dentro ad un novo più fui irretito ;
e dissi : " Già contento requievi
di grande ammirazion ; ma ora ammiro
com' io trascenda questi corpi lievi."
Ond' ella, appresso d' un pio sospiro,
gli occhi drizzò ver me con quel sembiante
che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro ;
e cominciò : " Le cose tutte e quante
hann' ordine tra loro ; e questo è forma
che l' universo a Dio fa simigliante.
Qui veggion l' alte creature l' orma
dell' eterno valore, il quale è fine,
al quale è fatta la toccata norma.
Nell' ordine ch' io dico sono accline
tutte nature, per diverse sorti,
più al principio loro e men vicine ;
onde si movono a diversi porti
per lo gran mar dell' essere, e ciascuna
con istinto a lei dato che la porti.
Questi ne porta il foco in ver la luna,
questi nei cor mortali è permotore,
questi la terra in sè stringe ed aduna.
Nè pur le creature, che son fuore
d' intelligenza, quest' arco saetta,
ma quelle ch' hanno intelletto ed amore.

and she began: "Thou thyself makest thyself dense with false imagining, and so thou seest not what thou wouldst see, if thou hadst cast it off. Earthly and heavenly law

Thou art not upon earth, as thou believest; but lightning, fleeing its proper site, ne'er darted as dost thou who art returning thither."

If I was stripped of my first perplexity by the brief smile-enwrapped discourse, I was the more enmeshed within another;

and I said: "Content already and at rest from a great marvelling, now am I in amaze how I transcend these lightsome bodies."

Whereon she, after a sigh of pity, turned her eyes toward me with that look a mother casts on her delirious child;

and began: "All things whatsoever observe a mutual order; and this is the form that maketh the universe like unto God. Order the Supreme law

Herein the exalted creatures trace the impress of the Eternal Worth, which is the goal whereto was made the ordinance now spoken of.

In the order of which I speak all things incline, by diverse lots, more near and less unto their principle;

wherefore they move to diverse ports o'er the great sea of being, and each one with instinct given it to bear it on.

This beareth the fire toward the moon; this is the mover in the hearts of things that die; this doth draw the earth together and unite it.

Nor only the creatures that lack intelligence doth this bow shoot, but those that have both intellect and love.

Salita La provvidenza, che cotanto assetta, 121
del suo lume fa il ciel sempre quieto,
nel qual si volge quel ch' ha maggior fretta ;
ed ora lì, com' a sito decreto, 124
cen porta la virtù di quella corda,
che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto.
Ver' è che come forma non s' accorda 127
molte fiate alla intenzion dell' arte,
perch' a risponder la materia è sorda ;
così da questo corso si diparte 130
talor la creatura, ch' ha potere
di piegar, così pinta, in altra parte
(e sì come veder si può cadere 133
foco di nube), se l' impeto primo
a terra è torto da falso piacere.
Non dei più ammirar, se bene estimo, 136
lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo
se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.
Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se privo 139
d' impedimento giù ti fossi assiso,
come a terra quiete in foco vivo."
Quinci rivolse in ver lo cielo il viso. 142

·.· See " Dante's Paradise " at the close of this volume (p. 410), and the editorial note giving the full titles of the books to which reference is here made (p. 417).

1-3. God, as the unmoved source of movement, is the central conception of the Aristotelian theology. Wallace, 39, 46.

God *penetrates* into the essential nature of a thing, and *is reflected* (" re-gloweth "), more or less, in its concrete being. *Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, § 23 ; *Conv.* iii. 14 : 29-50.

13. Apollo = the Sun = God. *Conv.* iii. 12 : 52-54, and *passim.*

16. *One peak.* Hitherto the inspiration of the Muses has sufficed (*cf. Inf.* ii. 7, *Purg.* i. 8), but now the

The Providence that doth assort all this, doth with its light make ever still the heaven wherein whirleth that one that hath the greatest speed ; Order

and thither now, as to the appointed site, the power of that bowstring beareth us which directeth to a joyful mark whatso it doth discharge.

True is it, that as the form often accordeth not with the intention of the art, because the material is dull to answer ; How disturbed

so from this course sometimes departeth the creature that hath power, thus thrust, to swerve toward some other part,

(even as fire may be seen to dart down from the cloud) if its first rush be wrenched aside to earth by false-seeming pleasure.

Thou shouldst no more wonder, if I deem aright, at thine uprising, than at a river dropping down from a lofty mountain to the base.

Marvel were it in thee if, bereft of all impediment, thou hadst settled down below ; even as were stillness on the earth in a living flame." Thereon toward Heaven she turned back her gaze.

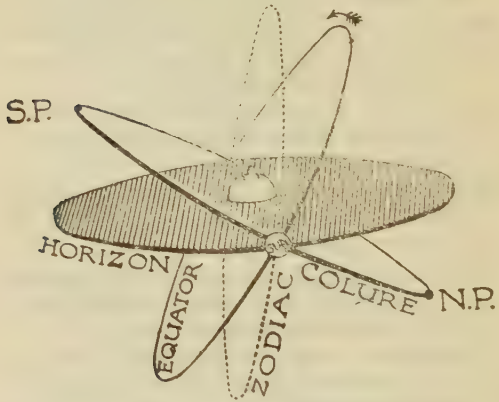
diviner aid of "Apollo" must be invoked as well. It is not easy to trace the origin of Dante's (erroneous) belief that one peak of Parnassus was sacred to the Muses as distinct from Apollo.

19-21. Compare *Purg.* i. 7-12. The underlying motive seems to be an appeal to the deities to proclaim their glory through their willing instrument as zealously as they vindicated their honour against presumptuous rivals. Marsyas was flayed by Apollo for his presumption in challenging him to a contest in playing the pipe. Hence the allusion to the "sheath of his limbs."

32-33. Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, loved by Apollo, was changed into a laurel.

36. *Cirrha.* Apollo's peak of Parnassus.

37-39. The circles of the Equator, the Zodiac and the Equinoctial colure, make each a cross with the circle of the horizon. At the equinox, at sunrise, they all meet the horizon and make their crosses with it at the same spot.



43. *Had made*, viz. when he rose. It was now noonday (44, 45).

49-54. The point of analogy appears to consist simply in the derivative character of Dante's act.

57. The Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden (*Purg.* xxviii. 91-93).

61-63. Owing to their rapid approach to the sun. Compare also *Purg.* xxvii. 89, 90.

64. *Wheel* or *wheels*, here and throughout the *Paradiso* used for the revolving heavens.

68. Ovid tells the tale of the fisherman Glaucus tasting the grass that had revivified the fish he had caught, and thereon being seized with yearning for the deep, into which he plunged and became a sea god.

73. Compare 2 *Corinthians* xii. 2. The soul is

enbreathed by God when the animal body is perfected (*Purg.* xxv. 67-75), and is therefore that part of a man which is to be regarded as a new creation by God, not generated by nature. Compare iii. 87, *note*, and Wallace, 56, *note* 3.

76. It is by inspiring the universe with love and longing (not by any physical means, for he is immaterial) that God, according to Aristotle, causes the never-ending cosmic movements. Wallace, 39.

79-81. Because they were passing through the "sphere of fire" which girt the "sphere of air" as with a second atmosphere.

82. The conception that the seven planetary heavens, like the seven strings of a lyre, uttered divine harmonies as they moved, is expressly rejected by Aristotle. This is one of the few instances in which Dante departs from his authority.

90. *It*, *i.e.* the *false imagining*, the fixed idea which prevented his comprehending what was before his eyes.

92. *Cf.* xxiii. 41-42.

99. *Air*, which Aristotle regarded as relatively, and *fire* which he regarded as absolutely light.

106. *Exalted creatures* = angels [and men ?].

107-114. God is the goal as well as the source of all. The orderly trend of all things to their true places is therefore their guide to God. But all things do not reach God in the same sense and in the same measure.

119. *Cf.* xxix. 24.

122-123. The Empyrean, which is not spatial at all, does not move and "hath not poles." It girds with light and love the *Primum Mobile*, the outmost and swiftest of the material heavens. Compare *Paradiso*, xxii. 67, xxvii. 106-120, xxx. 38-42, 52, etc. Also *Conv.* ii. 4 : 13-43.

127-135. 'As the medium in which an artist works sometimes appears to resist the impulse and direction which he would give it, so beings endowed with free-will ("the creature that hath power . . . to swerve aside") may resist the impulse towards himself impressed upon them by God, if they allow themselves to be seduced by false delights.'

PARADISO

WARNING and promise to the reader, who shall see a stranger tilth than when Jason sowed the dragon's teeth (1-18). They reach the moon and inconceivably penetrate into her substance without cleaving it, even as deity penetrated into humanity in Christ; which mystery shall in heaven be seen as axiomatic truth (19-45). Dante, dimly aware of the inadequacy of his science, questions Beatrice as to the dark patches on the moon which he had thought were due to rarity of substance (46-60). She explains that if such rarity pierced right through the moon in the dark parts, the sun would shine through them when eclipsed; and if not, the dense matter behind the rare would cast back the sun's light (61-90); and describes

Salita O voi, che siete in piccioletta barca,
desiderosi d' ascoltar, seguiti
retro al mio legno che cantando varca,
tornate a riveder li vostri liti:
non vi mettete in pelago; chè forse,
perdendo me, rimarreste smarriti.
L' acqua ch' io prendo giammai non si corse:
Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,
e nove Muse mi dimostran l' Orse.
Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo
per tempo al pan degli angeli, del quale
vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,
metter potete ben per l' alto sale
vostro navigio, servando mio solco
dinanzi all' acqua che ritorna equale.
Quei gloriosi che passaro a Colco
non s' ammiraron, come voi farete,
quando Jason vider fatto bifolco.

to him an experiment by which he may satisfy himself that in that case the light reflected from the dense matter at the surface and from that in the interior of the moon would be equally bright (91-105). She then explains that Dante has gone wrong and accepted a scientifically inadequate explanation, because he has not understood that all heavenly phenomena are direct utterances of God and of his Angels. The undivided power of God, differentiated through the various heavenly bodies and agencies, shines in the diverse quality and brightness of the fixed stars, of the planets and of the parts of the moon, as the vital principle manifests itself diversely in the several members of the body, and as joy beams through the pupil of the eye (106-148).

Warning

O ye who in your little skiff, longing to hear, have followed on my keel that singeth on its way,

turn to revisit your own shores; commit you not to the open sea; for perchance, losing me, ye would be left astray.

The water which I take was never coursed before; Minerva bloweth, Apollo guideth me, and the nine Muses point out to me to the Bears.

and Promise

Ye other few, who timely have lift up your necks for bread of angels whereby life is here sustained but wherefrom none cometh away sated,

ye may indeed commit your vessel to the deep, keeping my furrow, in advance of the water that is falling back to the level.

The glorious ones who fared to Colchis not so marvelled as shall ye, when Jason turned ox-ploughman in their sight.

Salita La concreata e perpetua sete 19
del deiforme regno cen portava
veloci, quasi come il ciel vedete.

Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava ; 22
e forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa
e vola e dalla noce si dischiava,

Luna giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa 25
mi torse il viso a sè ; e però quella,
cui non potea mia opra essere ascosa,

volta ver me sì lieta come bella : 28
" Drizza la mente in Dio grata," mi disse,
" che n' ha congiunti con la prima stella."

Pareva a me che nube ne coprisse 31
lucida, spessa, solida e polita,
quasi adamante che lo sol ferisse.

Per entro sè l' eterna margarita 34
ne recepette, com' acqua recepe
raggio di luce, permanendo unita.

S' io era corpo, e qui non si concepe 37
com' una dimension altra patio,
ch' esser convien se corpo in corpo repe,

accender ne dovria più il disio 40
di veder quella essenza, in che si vede
come nostra natura e Dio s' unio.

Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede, 43
non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,
a guisa del ver primo che l'uom crede.

Io risposi : " Madonna, sì devoto 46
quant' esser posso più, ringrazio lui
lo qual dal mortal mondo m' ha remoto.

Ma ditemi, che son li segni bui 49
di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra
fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui ? "

The thirst, born with us and ne'er failing, for the god-like realm bore us swift almost as ye see the heaven. The inconstant

Beatrice was gazing upward, and I on her; and perchance in such space as an arrow stays and flies and is discharged from the nocking-point

I saw me arrived where a wondrous thing drew my sight to it; and therefore she from whom my doing might not be hidden, Entering the first heaven

turning to me as much in joy as beauty, "Direct thy mind to God in gratitude," she said, "who hath united us with the first star."

Meseemed a cloud enveloped us, shining, dense, firm and polished, like diamond smitten by the sun.

Within itself the eternal pearl received us, as water doth receive a ray of light, though still itself uncleft.

If I were body,—and if here we conceive not how one dimension could support another, which must be, if body into body creep,—

the more should longing enkindle us to see that Essence wherein we behold how our own nature and God unified themselves. The Incarnation

There what we hold by faith shall be beheld, not demonstrated, but self-known in fashion of the initial truth which man believeth.

I answered: "Lady, devoutly as I most may, do I thank him who hath removed me from the mortal world.

But tell me what are those dusky marks upon this body, which down there on earth make folk tell the tale of Cain?"

Luna Ella sorrise alquanto, e poi : " S' egli erra 52
l' opinion," mi disse, " dei mortali,
dove chiave di senso non disserra,
certo non ti dovrien punger gli strali 55
d' ammirazione omai ; poi retro ai sensi
vedi che la ragione ha corte l' ali.
Ma dimmi quel che tu da te ne pensi." 58
Ed io : " Ciò che n' appar quassù diverso,
credo che il fanno i corpi rari e densi."
Ed ella : " Certo assai vedrai sommerso 61
nel falso il creder tuo, se bene ascolti
l' argomentar ch' io gli farò avverso.
La spera ottava vi dimostra molti 64
lumi, li quali, nel quale e nel quanto,
notar si posson di diversi volti.
Se raro e denso ciò facesser tanto, 67
una sola virtù sarebbe in tutti,
più e men distributa, ed altrettanto.
Virtù diverse esser convengon frutti 70
di principi formali, e quei, fuor ch' uno,
seguiterieno a tua ragion distrutti.
Ancor, se raro fosse di quel bruno 73
cagion che tu domandi, od oltre in parte
fora di sua materia sì digiuno
esto pianeta ; o, sì come comparte 76
lo grasso e il magro un corpo, così questo
nel suo volume cangerebbe carte.
Se il primo fosse, fora manifesto 79
nell' eclissi del sol, per trasparere
lo lume, come in altro raro ingesto.
Questo non è ; però è da vedere 82
dell' altro, e s' egli avvien ch' io l' altro cassi,
falsificato fia lo tuo parere.

The inconstant

She smiled a little, and then: "And if," she said, "the opinion of mortals goeth wrong, where the key of sense doth not unlock, truly the shafts of wonder should no longer pierce thee; since even when the senses give the lead thou seest reason hath wings too short.

But tell me what thou, of thyself, thinkest concerning it?" And I: "That which to us appeareth diverse in this high region, I hold to be produced by bodies rare and dense."

And she: "Verily, thou shalt see thy thought plunged deep in falsity, if well thou hearken to the argument which I shall make against it.

The eighth sphere revealeth many lights to you, the which in quality, as eke in quantity, may be observed of diverse countenance.

Shadows on the moon

If rare and dense alone produced this thing, one only virtue, more or less or equally distributed, were in them all.

Diverse virtues must needs be fruits of formal principles, the which, save only one, would have no leave to be, upon thy reasoning.

Again, were rarity cause of that duskiness whereof thou makest question, either in some certain part, right through, thus stinted of its matter were this planet; or, like as a body doth dispose the fat and lean, would it alternate pages in its volume.

Were the first true, 'twould be revealed in the eclipses of the sun, by the light shining through it, as it doth when hurled on aught else rare.

This is not so; wherefore we have to see what of the other case, and if it chance that I make vain this also, thy thought will be refuted.

Luna S' egli è che questo raro non trapassi, 85
esser conviene un termine, da onde
lo suo contrario più passar non lassi;
ed indi l' altrui raggio si rifonde 88
così, come color torna per vetro,
lo qual di retro a sè piombo nasconde.
Or dirai tu ch' ei si dimostra tetro 91
quivi lo raggio più che in altre parti,
per esser lì rifratto più a retro.
Da questa instanzia può diliberarti 94
esperienza, se giammai la provi,
ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostr' arti.
Tre specchi prenderai; e due rimovi 97
da te d' un modo, e l' altro più rimosso
tr' ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi ritrovi.
Rivolto ad essi fa che dopo il dosso 100
ti stea un lume che i tre specchi accenda,
e torni a te da tutti ripercosso.
Benchè, nel quanto, tanto non si stenda 103
la vista più lontana, lì vedrai
come convien ch' egualmente risplenda.
Or, come ai colpi delli caldi rai 106
della neve riman nudo il suggetto
e dal colore e dal freddo primai;
così rimaso te nello intelletto 109
voglio informar di luce sì vivace,
che ti tremolerà nel suo aspetto.
Dentro dal ciel della divina pace 112
si gira un corpo, nella cui virtute
l' esser di tutto suo contento giace.
Lo ciel seguente, ch' ha tante vedute, 115
quell' esser parte per diverse essenze
da lui distinte e da lui contenute;

If it be that this rare matter goeth not through- The inconstant
out, needs must there be a limit, from which its contrary doth intercept its passing on ;
and thence that other's ray were so cast back, as colour doth return from glass which hideth lead behind it.
Now thou wilt urge that the ray here is darkened rather than in other parts, because here it is reflected from farther back.
From this plea experiment may disentangle thee, (if thou wilt make the proof) which ever is the spring of the rivers of your science.
Three mirrors thou shalt take, and set two equally remote from thee; and let the third farther removed strike on thine eyes between the other two.
Turning to them, have a light set behind thy Shadows on the moon
back, enkindling the three mirrors, and, back-smitten by them all, coming again to thee.
Whereas in size the more distant shall not have so great area, yet thou there shalt see it needs must shine as brightly as the others.
Now,—as at the stroke of the warm rays the substrate of the snow is stripped both of the colour and the coldness which it had,—
thee, so left stripped in thine intellect, would I inform with light so living, it shall tremble as thou lookest on it.
Within the heaven of the divine peace whirleth a body, in whose virtue lieth the being of all that it containeth.
The heaven next following, which hath so many things to show, parteth this being amid diverse essences, which it distinguisheth and doth contain ;

Luna gli altri giron per varie differenze
le distinzion, che dentro da sè hanno,
dispongono a lor fini e lor semenze.
Questi organi del mondo così vanno,
come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,
che di su prendono, e di sotto fanno.
Riguarda bene omai sì com' io vado
per questo loco al ver che tu disiri,
sì che poi sappi sol tener lo guado.
Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri,
come dal fabbro l' arte del martello,
dai beati motor convien che spiri ;
e il ciel, cui tanti lumi fanno bello,
dalla mente profonda che lui volve
prende l' image, e fassene suggello.
E come l' alma dentro a vostra polve
per differenti membra e conformate
a diverse potenze si risolve ;
così l' intelligenza sua bontate
multiplicata per le stelle spiega,
girando sè sopra sua unitate.
Virtù diversa fa diversa lega
col prezioso corpo ch' ell' avviva,
nel qual, sì come vita in voi, si lega.
Per la natura lieta onde deriva
la virtù mista per lo corpo luce,
come letizia per pupilla viva.
Da essa vien ciò che da luce a luce
par differente, non da denso e raro :
essa è formal principio che produce,
conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e il chiaro."

12. Contrast xxiv. 3. 37. Compare i. 73, *sq.*

the other circling bodies by various differentiatings, dispose the distinct powers they have within themselves, unto their ends and to their fertilisings. The inconstant

These organs of the universe go, as thou seest now, from grade to grade; for from above do they receive, and downward do they work.

Now mark well how I thread this pass to the truth for which thou longest, that thou thereafter mayest know to keep the ford alone.

The movement and the virtue of the sacred wheelings, as the hammer's art from the smith, must needs be an effluence from the blessed movers;

and the heaven which so many lights make beautiful, from the deep mind which rolleth it, taketh the image and thereof maketh the seal.

And as the soul within your dust, through members differing and conformed to divers powers, doth diffuse itself, Diffusion of the Divine Spirit

so doth the Intelligence deploy its goodness, multiplied through the stars, revolving still on its own unity.

Diverse virtue maketh diverse alloy with the precious body which it quickeneth, wherein, as life in you, it is upbound.

By cause of the glad nature whence it floweth, the mingled virtue shineth through the body, as gladness doth through living eye.

Thence cometh what seems different 'twixt light and light, and not from dense and rare; this is the formal principle that produceth, conformably to its own excellence, the turbid and the clear."

43-45. See vi. 19-21 *note*.

51. "The common folk tell the tale how Cain may

be seen in the moon, going with a bundle of thorns to sacrifice."—Benvenuto. Compare *Inf.* xx. 126.

58-60. See *Conv.* ii. 14 : 69-76, where this explanation, based on Averroes (but inverting him), is given.

64-72. 'The heaven of the fixed stars reveals a diversity in the luminous substance of its many heavenly bodies. The heaven of the moon reveals a diversity in the luminous substance of its one heavenly body. The problem of the eighth and of the first heaven is therefore essentially identical, and we must seek a solution applicable to both the heavens. Your proposed solution, if applied to the fixed stars, would make their difference merely quantitative, whereas it is admitted to be qualitative also, for the influences of the fixed stars differ one from another in kind.'

79-81. 'If we account for the dullness of some parts of the moon by saying that there her substance is rare right through, from side to side, that means that some of the sun's rays are not cast back at all but escape at the far side. Now if some of the sun's rays could pierce right through the moon when he is in front of her, they would do so when he is behind her (*i.e.* in a solar eclipse) which we know they do not.'

85-105. 'If, on the contrary, the sun's rays encounter a dense stratum before they pierce right through, they will be reflected back from that dense stratum within the moon just as they are from the dense surface of her other portions. You will then have the effect of several reflecting surfaces (*i.e.* mirrors), at various distances, throwing back the same light. Construct a model of this by placing two mirrors before you (representing bright parts of the moon) with a third mirror, between them, farther back (representing the supposed dense stratum in the interior substance of the moon, where the dark patches are), and have a light (representing the sun) set behind you. You will find that the middle reflection is indeed *smaller* than the other two but not *duller*, as by your hypothesis it should be.' See Fig. on pp. 58, 59.

Brightness is truly the ratio of the amount of light reaching the eye to the apparent size of the object, and since both of these diminish in proportion to the square of the distance, the brightness remains constant.

But this statement neglects absorption by the medium; and, moreover, the moon is not a mirror, in which we see the sun, but is more like a piece of paper on which a lamp is shining; and the brightness of such a surface is affected by its distance from the source of light, though not by its distance from the spectator.

106-111. 'Your mind is now a blank. All your ideas on the subject are gone, and nothing is left but the potential receptacle of ideas (your mind); just as when the sun shines on the snow, all its qualities disappear and nothing is left except that (whatever it is) that underlies the qualities, and is potentially susceptible of having them impressed again upon it.'

112-114. Compare i. 121-123, and *note*. The being of everything that exists is implicitly contained in the *Primum Mobile*.

116. *Diverse essences*, according to the translation = the fixed stars. But the Italian may mean "distinct *from* it" (not "distinguished *by* it"), and may refer to the lower spheres and the planets.

121-123. Compare *Epist. ad C. G.* 400-404 (§ 21).

124-144. A difficulty seems to be caused by Dante's habit of sometimes explicitly recognising, and sometimes practically ignoring, the distinction between the heavens or heavenly bodies and their guiding and influencing Angels. There is no confusion in his own mind; but the connection between the Angels and the heavens is so close that it is often unnecessary to dwell upon the distinction, which distinction, however, is always there. It has been ignored up to this point in the present Canto. Now we find the "differentiatings" of the Divine Power recognised as divers angelic virtues which are respectively *connected* with the divers heavenly bodies, so that the moving heaven is an "alloy," or union of the heavenly substance and the angelic influence. Again, the "mingled virtue" itself that shines through the heavenly body is the personality of the Angel mingled with the creating and inspiring power of God. *Cf.* xxi. 82-87.

127-132. The hammer takes its direction, etc., from the mind of the smith, and stamps that mind upon the iron. So the heavens.

131. God, or the cherub that guides the stellar sphere.

PARADISO

AS Dante is about to speak he sees the faint outlines of human features and taking them for reflections looks behind him but sees nothing (1-24). Beatrice smiles at his taking the most real existences he has ever yet beheld for mere semblances, tells him why they are there and bids him address them (25-33). Dante learns from Piccarda that each soul in heaven rejoices in the whole order of which it is part, and therefore

Luna Quel sol, che pria d' amor mi scaldò il petto,
di bella verità m' avea scoperto,
provando e riprovando, il dolce aspetto ;
ed io, per confessar corretto e certo 4
me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne,
levai lo capo a proferer più erto.
Ma visione apparve, che ritenne 7
a sè me tanto stretto per vedersi,
che di mia confession non mi sovvenne.
Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi, 10
o ver per acque nitide e tranquille,
non sì profonde che i fondi sien persi,
tornan dei nostri visi le postille 13
debili sì che perla in bianca fronte
non vien men tosto alle nostre pupille ;
tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte, 16
perch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi
a quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte.
Subito, sì com' io di lor m' accorsi, 19
quelle stimando specchiati sembianti,
per veder di cui fosser gli occhi torsi ;
e nulla vidi, e ritorsili avanti 22
dritti nel lume della dolce guida,
che sorridendo ardea negli occhi santi.

desires no higher place than is assigned to it, for such desire would violate the law of love, and therefore the harmony of heaven, and with it the joy of the unduly aspiring soul itself (34-90). He further learns Piccarda's history and that of Constance (91-120). After which the souls disappear and Dante's eyes return to Beatrice (121-130).

The sun which first warmed my bosom with love had thus unveiled for me, by proof and refutation, fair truth's sweet aspect; The inconstant

and I, to confess me corrected and assured, in measure as was meet, lifted up my head to speak.

But there appeared to me a sight which so straitly held me to itself, to look upon it, that I bethought me not of my confession.

In such guise as, from glasses transparent and polished, or from waters clear and tranquil, not so deep that the bottom is darkened,

come back the outlines of our faces, so faint that a pearl on a white brow cometh not slowlier upon our eyes;

so did I behold many a countenance, eager to speak; wherefore I fell into the counter-error of that which kindled love between the man and the fountain. Spirits in the moon

No sooner was I aware of them, than, thinking them reflected images, I turned round my eyes to see of whom they were;

and I saw naught, and turned them forward again straight on the light of my sweet guide, whose sacred eyes glowed as she smiled.

Luna " Non ti maravigliar perch' io sorrida,"
mi disse, " appresso il tuo pueril coto,
poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida,
ma ti rivolve, come suole, a vòto.
Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,
qui rilegate per manco di voto.
Però parla con esse, ed odi, e credi ;
chè la verace luce che le appaga
da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi."
Ed io all' ombra, che parea più vaga
di ragionar, drizza' mi, e cominciai,
quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia smaga :
" O ben creato spirito, che ai rai
di vita eterna la dolcezza senti,
che non gustata non s' intende mai,
grazioso mi fia, se mi contenti
del nome tuo e della vostra sorte."
Ond' ella pronta e con occhi ridenti :
" La nostra carità non serra porte
a giusta voglia, se non come quella
che vuol simile a sè tutta sua corte.
Io fui nel mondo vergine sorella ;
e se la mente tua ben si riguarda,
non mi ti celerà l' esser più bella,
ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda,
che, posta qui con questi altri beati,
beata sono in la spera più tarda.
Li nostri affetti, che solo infiammati
son nel piacer dello Spirito Santo,
letizian del su' ordine informati.
E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto,
però n' è data, perchè fur negletti
li nostri voti, e vòti in alcun canto."

"Wonder not that I smile," she said, "in presence of thy child-like thought, since it trusts not its foot upon the truth, The inconstant

but turneth thee after its wont, to vacancy. True substances are they which thou beholdest, relegated here for failure of their vows.

Wherefore speak with them, and listen and believe; for the true light which satisfieth them, suffereth them not to turn their feet aside from it."

And I to the shade who seemed most to long for converse turned me and began, as one whom too great longing doth confound:

"O well-created spirit, who in the rays of eternal life dost feel the sweetness which, save tasted, may ne'er be understood;

it were acceptable to me, wouldst thou content me with thy name and with your lot." Whereat she, eager and with smiling eyes:

"Our love doth no more bar the gate to a just wish, than doth that love which would have all its court like to itself. Piccarda

In the world I was a virgin sister, and if thy memory be rightly searched, my greater beauty will not hide me from thee,

but thou wilt know me again for Piccarda, who, placed here with these other blessed ones, am blessed in the sphere that moveth slowest.

Our affections, which are aflame only in the pleasure of the Holy Spirit, rejoice to be informed after his guidance.

And this lot, which seemeth so far down, therefore is given us because our vows were slighted, and on some certain side were not filled in."

Luna Ond' io a lei : " Nei mirabili aspetti
vostri risplende non so che divino,
che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti.
Però non fui a rimembrar festino ;
ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,
sì che raffigurar m' è più latino.
Ma dimmi : voi, che siete qui felici,
desiderate voi più alto loco
per più vedere, o per più farvi amici ? "
Con quelle altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco ;
da indi mi rispose tanto lieta,
ch' arder parea d' amor nel primo foco :
" Frate, la nostra volontà quieta
virtù di carità, che fa volerne
sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta.
Se disiassimo esser più superne,
foran discordi gli nostri disiri
dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne,
che vedrai non capere in questi giri,
s' essere in caritate è qui *necesse*,
e se la sua natura ben rimiri.
Anzi è formale ad esto beato *esse*
tenersi dentro alla divina voglia,
per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse.
Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia
per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace,
come allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia ;
e la sua volontate è nostra pace :
ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move
ciò ch' ella crea e che natura face."
Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove
in cielo è Paradiso, e sì la grazia
del sommo ben d' un modo non vi piove.

Whereon I to her : " In your wondrous aspects a divine something re-gloweth that doth transmute you from recollection of former times. The inconstant
Wherefore I lagged in calling thee to mind ; now what thou tellest me giveth such help that more articulately I recall thee.
But tell me, ye whose blessedness is here, do ye desire a more lofty place, to see more, or to make yourselves more dear ? "
With those other shades first she smiled a little, then answered me, so joyous that she seemed to burn in love's first flame :
" Brother, the quality of love stilleth our will, and maketh us long only for what we have, and giveth us no other thirst. Piccarda answereth
Did we desire to be more aloft, our longings were discordant from his will who here assorteth us,
and for that, thou wilt see, there is no room within these circles, if of necessity we have our being here in love, and if thou think again what is love's nature.
Nay, 'tis the essence of this blessed being to hold ourselves within the divine will, whereby our own wills are themselves made one.
So that our being thus, from threshold unto threshold throughout the realm, is a joy to all the realm as to the king, who draweth our wills to what he willeth ; The will of God
and his will is our peace ; it is that sea to which all moves that it createth and that nature maketh."
Clear was it then to me how everywhere in heaven is Paradise, e'en though the grace of the chief Good doth not pour down there after one only fashion.

Luna Ma sì com' egli avvien, se un cibo sazia,
e d' un altro rimane ancor la gola,
che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia;
così fec' io con atto e con parola,
per apprender da lei qual fu la tela,
onde non trasse insino a co' la spola.
" Perfetta vita ed alto merto inciela
donna più su," mi disse, "alla cui norma
nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela,
perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma
con quello sposo ch' ogni voto accetta,
che caritate a suo piacer conforma.
Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta
fuggi' mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,
e promisi la via della sua setta.
Uomini poi, a mal più ch' al bene usi,
fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra;
e Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi.
E quest' altro splendor, che ti si mostra
dalla mia destra parte, e che s' accende
di tutto il lume della spera nostra,
ciò ch' io dico di me di sè intende.
Sorella fu, e così le fu tolta
di capo l' ombra delle sacre bende.
Ma poi che pur al mondo fu rivolta
contra suo grado e contra buona usanza,
non fu dal vel del cor giammai disciolta.
Quest' è la luce della gran Costanza,
che del secondo vento di Suave
generò il terzo, e l' ultima possanza."
Così parlommi, e poi cominciò "*Ave,*
Maria," cantando; e cantando vanio
come per acqua cupa cosa grave.

But even as it chanceth, should one food sate us while for another the appetite remaineth, that returning thanks for that, we ask for this; The inconstant

so with gesture and with word did I, to learn from her what was that web through which she had not drawn the shuttle to the end.

"Perfected life and high desert enheaveneth a lady more aloft," she said, "by whose rule down in your world there are who clothe and veil themselves, S. Clara

that they, even till death, may wake and sleep with that Spouse who accepteth every vow that love hath made conform with his good pleasure.

From the world, to follow her, I fled while yet a girl, and in her habit I enclosed myself, and promised the way of her company.

Thereafter men, more used to ill than good, tore me away from the sweet cloister; and God doth know what my life then became.

And this other splendour who revealeth herself to thee on my right side, and who kindleth herself with all the light of our sphere, Constance

doth apply to herself what I tell of myself. She was a sister, and from her head was taken in like manner the shadow of the sacred veil.

Yet, turned back as she was into the world, against her pleasure and against good usage, from her heart's veil never was she loosened.

This is the light of the great Constance, who, from the second blast of Suabia, conceived the third and final might."

Thus did she speak to me, and then began to sing *Ave Maria*, and vanished as she sang, like to a heavy thing through deep water.

Luna La vista mia, che tanto la seguio 124
quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse
volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
ed a Beatrice tutta si converse ; 127
ma quella folgorò nello mio sguardo
sì che da prima il viso non sofferse,
e ciò mi fece a domandar più tardo. 130

16-18. Narcissus took his own reflection for an actual being. Dante took the actual beings he now saw for reflections.

29. A *substance* is anything that exists in itself, *e.g.* a man, a tree, a sword. It is opposed to *accident*, that which exists only as an experience or an attribute of some "substance," *e.g.* love, greenness, brightness. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § 25.

41. *Thy* name, and *your* lot (*i.e.* the lot thou sharest with thy companions).

49. Piccarda was the daughter of Simone Donati, and the sister of Dante's friend Forese (see *Purg.* xxiii. 42, *sqq.*) and of the celebrated Corso (compare Gardner, i. 4, "Blacks and Whites," and Villani, vii. 114, etc., etc.). Dante's wife Gemma was the daughter of Manetto Donati, and she too had a brother Forese (Dante's brother-in-law therefore). This has often given rise to confusion.

51. Slowest in the daily revolution from East to West. because nearest to the centre of the Earth and of the whole celestial rotation ; but swiftest in the sense that its *proper* motion (from West to East) has a shorter period than that of any other sphere.

54. Rejoice to have their *form*, or essential being, in

My sight, which followed her far as it might, when it had lost her turned to the target of a greater longing,
and bent itself all upon Beatrice; but she so flashed upon my look, that at the first my sight endured it not; and this made me the slower with my questioning. The inconstant

conformity to the divine order, which is itself the *form* of the universe. Compare i. 104, and also vii. 133-141, *note*.

70-90. Compare vi. 112-126.

87. "*That it createth*, out of nothing, as angels and rational souls, *and that nature maketh*, that is produceth by generating."—Benvenuto. *Cf.* vii. 130 *sqq.*

98. Clara (1194-1253), the friend and disciple of Francis of Assisi.

101, 102. Note the qualification. Not all vows are accepted. See *Parad.* v. 64-84.

106. Her brother Corso, especially, who compelled her to marry Rossellino della Tosa, a man of violent and factious character with whom at the time he sought alliance.

118-120. Frederick Barbarossa, his son Henry VI., and his grandson Frederick II., are the three "blasts of Suabia." Constance was the heiress of the Norman house of Tancred which had conquered Sicily and Southern Italy from the Saracens in the eleventh century, and so of the crown of "the two Sicilies" (Naples and Sicily). See Villani, iv. 20 and v. 16, and *Introduction*, p. xxxii.

PARADISO

PICCARDA has left Dante entangled in two perplexities. Why are the nuns shorn of what had else been the full measure of their glory because they were torn *against their will* from the cloister? And if the inconstant moon is the abode of such as have left their vows unfulfilled was Plato right after all in saying that men's souls come down from the planets connatural with them, and return thereto? (1-24). This latter speculation might lead to dangerous heresy, and Beatrice hastens to explain that the souls who come to meet Dante in the several spheres all have their permanent abiding place with God and the Angels in the Empyrean. Their meeting places with Dante are but symbolical of their spiritual state (25-48). But Plato may have had in mind the divine influences that, through the agency of the planets, act upon men's dispositions and produce good or ill effects which should be credited to

Luna Intra due cibi, distanti e moventi
d' un modo, prima si morria di fame,
che liber uomo l' un recasse ai denti.

Sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame
di fieri lupi, egualmente temendo;
sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.

Per che, s' io mi tacea, me non riprendo,
dalli miei dubbi d' un modo sospinto,
poich' era necessario, nè commendo.

Io mi tacea; ma il mio disir dipinto
m' era nel viso, e il domandar con ello
più caldo assai, che per parlar distinto.

Fe' sì Beatrice, qual fe' Daniello,
Nabuccodonosor levando d' ira,
che l' avea fatto ingiustamente fello;

them rather than to the human will. And indeed it was a confused perception of these divine influences that led men into idolatry (49-63). The other difficulty is removed by a distinction between what we wish to do and what, under pressure, we consent to do; for if we consent we cannot plead violence in excuse, although we have done what we did not wish to do (64-114). More questions are started in Dante's mind, for only in the all-embracing truth of God can the human mind find that restful possession which its nature promises it. Short of that each newly-acquired truth leads on to further questions (115-135). Beatrice, who had sighed at Dante's previous bewildered questions, smiles approval now, for he asks her a question as to vows which has some spiritual import (136-142).

The inconstant. Dante's perplexities

Between two foods, distant and appetising in like measure, death by starvation would ensue ere a free man put either to his teeth.

So would a lamb stand still between two cravings of fierce wolves, in equipoise of dread; so would a dog stand still between two hinds.

Wherefore, if I held my peace I blame me not (thrust in like measure either way by my perplexities), since 'twas necessity, nor yet commend me.

I held my peace, but my desire was painted on my face, and my questioning with it, in warmer colours far than if set out by speech.

Read by Beatrice

And Beatrice took the part that Daniel took when he lifted Nebuchadnezzar out of the wrath that had made him unjustly cruel,

Luna e disse: " Io veggio ben come ti tira
uno ed altro disio, sì che tua cura
sè stessa lega sì che fuor non spira.
Tu argomenti: ' Se il buon voler dura,
la violenza altrui per qual ragione
di meritar mi scema la misura ? '
Ancor di dubitar ti dà cagione,
parer tornarsi l' anime alle stelle,
secondo la sentenza di Platone.
Queste son le question che nel tuo velle
pontano egualemente ; e però pria
tratterò quella che più ha di felle.
Dei serafin colui che più s' india,
Moisè, Samuel, e quel Giovanni,
qual prender vuoli, io dico, non Maria,
non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni,
che quegli spirti che mo t' appariro,
nè hanno all' esser lor più o meno anni.
Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,
e differentemente han dolce vita,
per sentir più e men l' eterno spiro.
Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita
sia questa spera lor ; ma per far segno
della celestial ch' ha men salita.
Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno,
però che solo da sensato apprende
ciò che fa poscia d' intelletto degno.
Per questo la Scrittura condiscende
a vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende ;
e santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
e l' altro che Tobia rifece sano.

and she said: "Yea, but I see how this desire and that so draweth thee, that thy eagerness entangleth its own self, and therefore breathes not forth. The inconstant

Thou arguest: *If the right will endureth, by what justice can another's violence lesser for me the measure of desert?*

And further matter of perplexity is given thee by the semblance of the souls returning to the stars, as Plato's doctrine hath it.

These are the questions which weigh equally upon thy will; and therefore I will first treat that which hath the most of gall.

He of the Seraphim who most doth sink himself in God, Moses, Samuel, and that John whichso thou choose to take, I say not Mary's self. All spirits abide in the Empyrean

in any other heaven hold their seats than these spirits who but now appeared to thee, nor have they to their being more nor fewer years.

But all make beauteous the first circle, and share sweet life, with difference, by feeling more and less the eternal breath.

They have here revealed themselves, not that this sphere is given them, but to make sign of the celestial one that hath the least ascent.

Needs must such speech address your faculty, which only from the sense-reported thing doth apprehend what it then proceedeth to make fit matter for the intellect.

And therefore doth the Scripture condescend to your capacity, assigning foot and hand to God, with other meaning; Language of accommodation

and Holy Church doth represent to you with human aspect Gabriel and Michael, and him too who made Tobit sound again.

Luna Quel che Timeo dell' anime argomenta
non è simile a ciò che qui si vede,
però che, come dice, par che senta.
Dice che l' alma alla sua stella riede,
credendo quella quindi esser decisa,
quando natura per forma la diede.
E forse sua sentenza è d' altra guisa
che la voce non suona ; ed esser puote
con intenzion da non esser derisa.
S' egl' intende tornare a queste rote
l' onor dell' influenza e il biasmo, forse
in alcun vero suo arco percote.
Questo principio male inteso torse
già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove,
Mercurio e Marte a nominar trascorse.
L' altra dubitazion che ti commove
ha men velen, però che sua malizia
non ti poria menar da me altrove.
Parere ingiusta la nostra giustizia
negli occhi dei mortali, è argomento
di fede, e non d' eretica nequizia.
Ma, perchè puote vostro accorgimento
ben penetrare a questa veritate,
come disiri, ti farò contento.
Se violenza è quando quel che pate,
niente conferisce a quel che isforza,
non fur quest' alme per essa scusate ;
chè volontà, se non vuol, non s' ammorza,
ma fa come natura face in foco,
se mille volte violenza il torza.
Perchè, s' ella si piega assai o poco,
segue la forza ; e così queste fero,
possendo ritornare al santo loco.

That which Timæus argueth of the souls is not the like of what may here be seen, for seemingly he thinketh as he saith. The inconstant

He saith the soul returneth to its star, believing it cleft thence when nature gave it as a form. Plato's error

Although perchance his meaning is of other guise than the word soundeth, and may have a not-to-be-derided purport.

If he meaneth that the honour and the blame of their influence return unto these wheels, perchance his bow smiteth a certain truth.

This principle misunderstood erst wrenched aside the whole world almost, so that it rushed astray to call upon the names of Jove and Mercury and Mars. Idolatry

The other perplexity which troubleth thee hath less of poison, because its malice could not lead thee away from me elsewhere.

For our justice to appear unjust in mortal eyes is argument of faith, and not of heretic iniquity.

But since your wit hath power to pierce unto this truth, e'en as thou wishest I will satisfy thee.

If *violence* is when he who suffereth doth naught contribute to what forceth him, then these souls had not the excuse of it; Violence

for if the will willeth not, it cannot be crushed, but doth as nature doth in the flame, though violence wrench it aside a thousand times.

For should it bend itself, or much or little, it doth abet the force; and so did these, since they had power to return to the sacred place.

Luna Se fosse stato lor volere intero, 82
come tenne Lorenzo in su la grada,
e fece Muzio alla sua man severo,

così le avria ripinte per la strada 85
ond' eran tratte, come furo sciolte ;
ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.

E per queste parole, se ricolte 88
l' hai come devi, è l' argomento casso,
che t' avria fatto noia ancor più volte.

Ma or ti s' attraversa un altro passo 91
dinanzi agli occhi tal, che per te stesso
non usciresti, pria saresti lasso.

Io t' ho per certo nella mente messo, 94
ch' alma beata non poria mentire
però ch' è sempre al primo vero appresso :

e poi potesti da Piccarda udire 97
che l' affezion del vel Costanza tenne,
sì ch' ella par qui meco contradire.

Molte fiate già, frate, addivenne 100
che per fuggir periglio, contro a grato
sì fe' di quel che far non si convenne ;

come Almeone, che, di ciò pregato 103
dal padre suo, la propria madre spense,
per non perder pietà si fe' spietato.

A questo punto voglio che tu pense 106
che la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno
sì che scusar non si posson l'offense.

Voglia assoluta non consente al danno, 109
ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme,
se si ritrae, cadere in più affanno.

Però, quando Piccarda quello espreme, 112
della voglia assoluta intende, ed io
dell' altra, sì che ver diciamo insieme."

If their will had remained intact, like that which held Lawrence upon the grid, and made Mucius stern against his own right hand, The inconstant The absolute will
it would have thrust them back upon the path whence they were drawn, so soon as they were loose ; but such sound will is all too rare.
Now by these words, if thou hast gleaned them as thou shouldst, the argument which would have troubled thee more times than this, is rendered void.
But now across thy path another strait confronts thine eyes, through which ere thou shouldst win thy way alone, thou shouldst be weary.
I have set it in thy mind for sure, that no blessed soul may lie because hard by the Primal Truth it ever doth abide ;
and then thou mightest hear from Piccarda that her devotion to the veil Constance still held, so that here she seemeth to contradict me.
Many a time ere now, my brother, hath it come to pass that to flee peril things were done, And the practical
against the grain, that were unmeet to do ;
so did Alcmæon, moved by his father's prayer, slay his own mother, and not to sacrifice his filial piety became an impious son.
At this point, I would have thee think, violence receiveth suggestion from the will, and they so work that the offences may not plead excuse.
The absolute will consenteth not to the ill, but yet consenteth in so far as it doth fear, should it draw back, to fall into a worse annoy.
Wherefore, when Piccarda expresseth this, she meaneth it of the absolute will, and I of the other ; so that we both speak truth together."

Luna Cotal fu l' ondeggiar del santo rio,
ch' uscì del fonte ond' ogni ver deriva ;
tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.

" O amanza del primo amante, o diva,"
diss' io appresso, "il cui parlar m' inonda,
e scalda sì, che più e più m' avviva,

non è l' affezion mia tanto profonda,
che basti a render voi grazia per grazia ;
ma quei che vede e puote a ciò risponda.

Io veggio ben che giammai non si sazia
nostro intelletto, se il ver non lo illustra,
di fuor dal qual nessun vero si spazia.

Posasi in esso, come fera in lustra,
tosto che giunto l' ha : e giugner puollo ;
se non, ciascun disio sarebbe *frustra*.

Nasce per quello, a guisa di rampollo,
a piè del vero il dubbio : ed è natura,
che al sommo pinge noi di collo in collo.

Questo m' invita, questo m' assicura,
con riverenza, donna, a domandarvi
d' un' altra verità che m' è oscura.

Io vo' saper se l' uom può satisfarvi
ai voti manchi sì con altri beni,
ch' alla vostra statera non sien parvi."

Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni
di faville d' amor così divini,
che, vinta, mia virtù diede le reni,
e quasi mi perdei con gli occhi chini.

13-15. Daniel divined the dream Nebuchadnezzar had dreamed as well as the interpretation of it (*Daniel* ii.). So Beatrice knew what problems were exercising Dante's mind as well as what were the solutions.

24. In the *Timæus*, which was accessible to Dante in the Latin paraphrase of Chalcidius. Dante's direct

Such the rippling of the sacred stream which issued from the Spring whence all truth downfloweth; and being such, it set at peace one and the other longing. The inconstant

"O love of the primal Lover, O divine one," said I then, "whose speech o'erfloweth me and warmeth, so that more and more it quickeneth me,

my love hath no such depth as to suffice to render grace for grace; but may he who seeth it, and hath the power, answer thereto.

Now do I see that never can our intellect be sated, unless that Truth shine on it, beyond which no truth hath range. The mind resteth only in God

Therein it resteth as a wild beast in his den so soon as it hath reached it; and reach it may; else were all longing futile.

Wherefore there springeth, like a shoot, questioning at the foot of truth; which is a thing that thrusteth us towards the summit, on from ridge to ridge.

This doth invite me and giveth me assurance, with reverence, lady, to make question to thee as to another truth which is dark to me.

I would know if man can satisfy you so for broken vows, with other goods, as not to weigh too short upon your balance."

Beatrice looked on me with eyes filled so divine with sparks of love, that my vanquished power turned away, and I became as one lost, with eyes downcast.

knowledge of Plato was doubtless confined to this one dialogue. The doctrine ascribed to Plato, implicitly here and explicitly in *Conv.* ii. 14: 27, *sqq.*; iv. 21: 17, *sqq.* (compare *Eclogue* ii. 16, 17), goes somewhat beyond the warrant of the text either in the Greek or Latin.

27. Plato's doctrine (as understood by Dante) is poisonous because it ascribes to the admitted influences of the heavenly bodies such a prepotency as would be fatal to freewill, and therefore to morality. *Cf. Purg.* xvi. 58-81 and xviii. 61-72; *Epist.* viii. 38-41.

41-42. According to the psychology of Aristotle and the Schoolmen, the Intellect works upon images, etc., which are retained in the mind after the sense-impressions that produced them have vanished. Thus the *imaginative* faculties receive from the faculties of *sense* the impressions which they then present to the *intellect* for it to work upon. Wallace, 53.

45. "And even the *literal* sense is not the figure itself, but the thing figured. For when Scripture names the arm of God, the *literal* sense is not that God hath any such corporeal member, but hath that which is signified by the said member, to wit operative power."—Thomas Aquinas.

48. Raphael. See *Tobit* xi. 2-17. Note that the Vulgate calls the father, as well as the son, Tobias.

51. The controversy still rages as to how far Plato is to be taken literally and how far Aristotle's matter-of-fact interpretation (and refutation) of his utterances is justified. Thomas Aquinas says: "Now certain say that those poets and philosophers, and especially Plato, did not mean what the superficial sound of their words implies, but chose to hide their wisdom under certain fables and enigmatical phrases, and that Aristotle was often wont to raise objections, not to their meaning, which was sound, but to their words; lest any should be led into error by this way of speaking; and so saith Simplicius in his comment. But Alexander would have it that Plato and the other ancient philosophers meant what their words seem externally to imply; and that Aristotle strove to argue not only against their words, but against their meaning. But we need not greatly concern ourselves as to which of these is true; for the study of philosophy is not directed to ascertaining what men have believed, but how the truth of things standeth." Simplicius (6th century) and Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd and 3rd centuries) are the two greatest of the Greek commentators on Aristotle.

It is interesting to note that even Beatrice hesitates between the two schools of interpretation.

54. The soul is the *form*, or essential and constituent principle, of man.

61-63. This passage is important as throwing light on Dante's constant assumption that the heathen deities, though in one sense "false and lying" (*Inf.* i. 72), yet stand for some truly divine reality. We see here that idolatry springs from a misconception of the divine influences of which the heavenly bodies are the instruments. Its essential content therefore is real and divine, its form is false and impious. Compare viii. 1-9 and *Conv.* ii. 5: 34-51, 6: 113-126.

64-69. A difficult and much controverted passage. It is taken in the translation to mean: 'The apparent return of the souls to the stars might easily betray you unawares into heresy; but the apparent injustice of heaven, however it may exercise your faith, will not lead you into any positive error. You will simply be left in suspense till I explain.' *Argomento di fede* would then mean "the subject matter on which faith exercises itself." No explanation is quite satisfactory.

73-114. The whole psychology of free and enforced action is Aristotelian. The definition of enforced action in lines 73, 74 is taken direct from a passage in the *Ethics*. Wallace, 63.

83, 84. Lawrence († A.D. 258) and Mucius Scævola were alike tried by fire. Note the parallel between sacred and profane history habitual with Dante.

94-96. *Cf.* iii. 31-33.

97. *Cf.* iii. 117.

103-104. Eriphȳle, bribed by the celebrated necklace of Harmonia, persuaded her husband Amphiaraus to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, in which he knew he would perish. He commanded their son Alcmæon to avenge him. Compare *Inf.* xx. 31-36; *Purg.* xii. 49-51.

109-114. Compare *Purg.* xxi. 61-66.

131. *Dubbio* here means a *question* or a *difficulty*, not a "doubt." *Natura* is taken here in a concrete sense, "a natural impulse." The word sometimes simply means "a thing." Compare i. 103 and 110, where *cose* and *nature* are used as equivalents.

BEATRICE, rejoicing in Dante's progress, explains the supreme gift of Free Will, shared by angels and men and by no other creature (1-24). Hence may be deduced the supreme significance of vows, wherein this Free Will, by its own act, sacrifices itself. Wherefore there can be nothing so august as to form a fitting substitute, nor any use of the once consecrated thing so hallowed as to excuse the breaking of the vow (25-33). And yet Holy Church grants dispensations (34-39). The explanation lies in the distinction between the content of the vow (the specific thing consecrated) and the act of vowing (40-45). The vow must in every case be kept, but he who has made it, may, under due authority, sometimes substitute for the specific content of the vow some other, worth half as much again; which last condition precludes any substitute for

Luna "S' io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d' amore
di là dal modo che in terra si vede
sì che degli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,
non ti maravigliar; chè ciò procede
da perfetto veder, che come apprende,
così nel bene appreso move il piede.
Io veggio ben sì come già risplende
nello intelletto tuo l' eterna luce,
che, vista sola, sempre amore accende;
e s' altra cosa vostro amor seduce,
non è se non di quella alcun vestigio
mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce.
Tu vuoi saper, se con altro servigio,
per manco voto, si può render tanto,
che l' anima sicuri di litigio."
Sì cominciò Beatrice questo canto;
e sì com' uom che suo parlar non spezza,
continuò così il processo santo:

the complete self-dedication of monastic vows (46-63). And he who makes a vow such as God cannot sanction, has in that act already done evil; to keep such a vow is only to deepen his guilt; and, kept or broken, it brings his religion into contempt (64-84). Dante's further questioning is cut short by their ascent to Mercury, which grows brighter at their presence. Here, in the star that scarce asserts itself, but is lost to mortals in the sun's rays, are the once ambitious souls, that now rejoice in the access of fresh objects of love. They approach Dante, and one of them, with lofty gratulations, offers himself as the vehicle of divine enlightenment. Dante questions him as to his history and the place assigned to him in heaven; whereon the spirit (Justinian) so glows with joy that his outward form is lost in light (85-139).

"If I flame on thee in the warmth of love, beyond the measure witnessed upon earth, and so vanquish the power of thine eyes, The inconstant

marvel not; for this proceedeth from perfect vision, which, as it apprehendeth, so doth advance its foot in the apprehended good.

Well do I note how in thine intellect already doth re-glow the eternal light, which if only seen doth ever kindle love;

and if aught else seduce your love, naught is it save some vestige of this light, ill understood, that shineth through therein.

Thou wouldst know whether with other service reckoning may be paid for broken vow, so great as to secure the soul from dispute." Broken vows

So Beatrice began this chant, and, as one who interrupteth not his speech, continued thus the sacred progress:

Luna " Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza
fesse creando, ed alla sua bontate
più conformato, e quel ch' ei più apprezza,
fu della volontà la libertate,
di che le creature intelligenti,
e tutte e sole furo e son dotate.
Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti,
l' alto valor del voto, s' è sì fatto,
che Dio consenta quando tu consenti ;
chè, nel fermar tra Dio e l' uomo il patto,
vittima fassi di questo tesoro,
tal qual io dico, e fassi col suo atto.
Dunque che render puossi per ristoro ?
Se credi bene usar quel ch' hai offerto,
di mal tolletto vuoi far buon lavoro.
Tu se' omai del maggior punto certo ;
ma, perchè santa Chiesa in ciò dispensa,
che par contra lo ver ch' io t' ho scoperto,
convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa,
però che il cibo rigido ch' hai preso
richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa.
Apri la mente a quel ch' io ti paleso,
e fermalvi entro ; chè non fa scienza,
senza lo ritenere, avere inteso.
Due cose si convengono all' essenza
di questo sacrificio : l' una è quella
di che si fa, l' altra è la convenenza.
Quest' ultima giammai non si cancella,
se non servata, ed intorno di lei
sì preciso di sopra si favella ;
però necessità fu agli Ebrei
pur l' offerere, ancor che alcuna offerta
si permutasse, come saper dei.

"The greatest gift God of his largess made at the creation, and the most conformed to his own excellence, and which he most prizeth, was the will's liberty, wherewith creatures intelligent, both all and each, were and are endowed. Now will appear to thee (if thence thou draw due inference) the high worth of the vow, if so made that God consent when thou consentest; for in establishing the compact between God and man, the victim is made from out this treasure, such as I pronounce it, and made by its own act. What may be rendered, then, as restoration? If thou think to make good use of that which thou hadst consecrated, thou wouldst do good works from evil gains. Thou art now assured as to the greater point; but since holy Church granteth herein dispensations, which seemeth counter to the truth I have unfolded to thee, it behoves thee still to sit awhile at table, because the stubborn food which thou hast taken demandeth further aid for thy digestion. Open thy mind to that which I unfold to thee, and fix it there within; for to have understood without retaining, maketh not knowledge. Two things pertain to the essence of this sacrifice: first, that whereof it is composed, and then the compact's self. This last can ne'er be cancelled save by being kept; and concerning this it is that the discourse above is so precise; therefore it was imperative upon the Hebrews to offer sacrifice in any case, though the thing offered might sometimes be changed, as thou shouldst know.

The inconstant. Free will

And vows

Dispensations

Luna L' altra, che per materia t' è aperta,
puote bene esser tal, che non si falla,
se con altra materia si converta.
Ma non trasmuti carco alla sua spalla
per suo arbitrio alcun, senza la volta
e della chiave bianca e della gialla ;
ed ogni permutanza creda stolta,
se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,
come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta.
Però qualunque cosa tanto pesa
per suo valor, che tragga ogni bilancia,
satisfar non si può con altra spesa.
Non prendan li mortali il voto a ciancia :
siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci ;
come Jeptè alla sua prima mancia,
cui più si convenia dicer : *Mal feci*,
che, servando, far peggio ; e così stolto
ritrovar puoi lo gran duca dei Greci,
onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto,
e fe' pianger di sè li folli e i savi,
ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto.
Siate, Cristiani, a movervi più gravi,
non siate come penna ad ogni vento,
e non crediate ch' ogni acqua vi lavi.
Avete il vecchio e il nuovo testamento,
e il pastor della Chiesa che vi guida :
questo vi basti a vostro salvamento.
Se mala cupidigia altro vi grida,
uomini siate, e non pecore matte,
sì che il Giudeo di voi tra voi non rida.
Non fate come agnel che lascia il latte
della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo
seco medesmo a suo piacer combatte."

The other thing, which hath been unfolded to thee as the matter, may in sooth be such that there is no offence if it be interchanged with other matter. The inconstant

But let none shift the load upon his shoulder at his own judgment, without the turn both of the white and of the yellow key ;

and let him hold all changing to be folly, unless the thing remitted bear to in that assumed a four to six proportion.

Wherefore what thing soe'er weigheth so heavy in virtue of its worth as to turn every scale, can never be made good by any other outlay.

Let mortals never take the vow in sport ; be loyal, and in doing this not squint-eyed ; like as was Jephthah in his first vow ; Evil vows

whom it had more become to say : *I did amiss*, than keep it and do worse ; and of like folly mayst thou accuse the great chief of the Greeks,

wherefore Iphigenia wept that her face was fair, and made simple and sage to weep for her, hearing of such a rite.

Ye Christians, be more sedate in moving, not like a feather unto every wind ; nor think that every water cleanseth you.

Ye have the Old and the New Testament and the shepherd of the Church to guide you ; let this suffice you, unto your salvation.

If sorry greed proclaim aught else to you, be men, not senseless sheep, lest the Jew in your midst should scoff at you. And evil pardoners

Do not ye as the lamb who leaves his mother's milk, silly and wanton, fighting with himself for his disport."

Salita Così Beatrice a me, com' io scrivo; 85
poi si rivolse tutta disiante
a quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo.

Lo suo tacere e il trasmutar sembiante 88
poser silenzio al mio cupido ingegno,
che già nuove questioni avea davante.

E sì come saetta, che nel segno 91
percote pria che sia la corda queta,
così corremmo nel secondo regno.

Mercurio Quivi la donna mia vid' io sì lieta, 94
come nel lume di quel ciel si mise,
che più lucente se ne fe' il pianeta.

E se la stella si cambiò e rise, 97
qual mi fec' io, che pur di mia natura
trasmutabile son per tutte guise!

Come in peschiera, ch' è tranquilla e pura, 100
traggonsi i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori
per modo che lo stimin lor pastura;

sì vid' io ben più di mille splendori 103
trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s' udia:
Ecco chi crescerà li nostri amori.

E sì come ciascuno a noi venia, 106
vedeasi l' ombra piena di letizia
nel fulgor chiaro che da lei uscia.

Pensa, lettor, se quel che qui s' inizia 109
non procedesse, come tu avresti
di più sapere angosciosa carizia;

e per te vederai, come da questi 112
m' era in disio d' udir lor condizioni,
sì come agli occhi mi fur manifesti.

" O bene nato, a cui veder li Troni 115
del trionfo eternal concede grazia,
prima che la milizia s' abbandoni,

Thus Beatrice to me, as I write; then turned her all in longing to that part where the world quickeneth most. The honour-seeking

Her ceasing and her transmuted semblance enjoined silence on my eager wit, which already had new questionings before it.

And even as an arrow which smiteth the targe ere the cord be still, so fled we to the second realm.

There I beheld my Lady so glad, when to the light of this heaven she committed her, that the planet's self became the brighter for it.

And if the star was changed and laughed, what then did I, who of my very nature am subjected unto change through every guise!

As in a fish-pool still and clear, the fishes draw to aught that so droppeth from without as to make them deem it something they may feed on, Approach of spirits

so did I see more than a thousand splendours draw towards us, and in each one was heard: *Lo! one who shall increase our loves.*

And as each one came up to us, the shade appeared filled with joy, by the bright glow that issued forth of it.

Think, reader, if what I now begin proceeded not, how thou wouldst feel an anguished dearth of knowing more,

and by thyself thou shalt perceive how it was in my longing to hear from these concerning their estate, soon as they were revealed unto my eyes.

"O happy-born, to whom grace concedeth to look upon the Thrones of the eternal triumph ere thou abandonest thy time of warfare, Justinian

Mercurio del lume che per tutto il ciel si spazia 118
noi semo accesi : e però, se disii
di noi chiarirti, a tuo piacer ti sazia."
Così da un di quelli spirti pii 121
detto mi fu ; e da Beatrice : " Di', di',
sicuramente, e credi come a dii."
" Io veggio ben sì come tu t' annidi 124
nel proprio lume, e che dagli occhi il traggi,
perch' ei corruscan, sì come tu ridi ;
ma non so chi tu sei, nè perchè aggi, 127
anima degna, il grado della spera,
che si vela ai mortal con altrui raggi."
Questo diss' io diritto alla lumiera 130
che pria m' avea parlato, ond' ella fessi
lucente più assai di quel ch' ell' era.
Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stessi 133
per troppa luce, come il caldo ha rose
le temperanze dei vapori spessi ;
per più letizia sì mi si nascose 136
dentro al suo raggio la figura santa,
e così chiusa chiusa mi rispose
nel modo che il seguente canto canta. 139

23-4. Angels and men.

26-7. Compare iii. 101-102.

32, 33. 'To apply to some *other* good purpose what has been vowed, would only be like giving the proceeds of oppression or plunder in charity.'

34. See lines 13-15.

51. Regulations as to substitution or "redemption" are found in *Exodus* xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, and *Numbers* xviii. 15-18. But the subject is most fully treated in the last chapter of *Leviticus*.

57. In popular estimate, 'the silver key of knowledge and the golden key of authority.' But Aquinas says more accurately: "For either of these [*i.e.* to decide

by the light that rangeth through all heaven are we enkindled; and therefore if thou desire to draw light from us, sate thee at thine own will." The honour-seeking

Thus by one of those devout spirits was said to me, and by Beatrice: "Speak, speak securely, and believe as thou wouldst deities."

"Verily, I see how thou dost nestle in thine own light, and that thou dost draw it through thine eyes, because they sparkle as thou smilest; Dante

but I know nor who thou art, nor why, O worthy soul, thou art graded in this sphere, which veileth it to mortals in another's rays."

This I said, turned towards the light which first had spoken to me; whereat it glowed far brighter than it did before.

Like as the sun which hideth him by excess of light when the heat hath gnawed away the tempering of the thick vapours,

so by access of joy the sacred figure hid him in his own rays, and thus enclosed, enclosed, answered me in such fashion as chanteth the following chant.

that the penitent is fit to be absolved, and actually to absolve him] a certain power or authority is needed; and so we distinguish between two keys, one pertaining to the judgment as to the fitness of him to be absolved, the other pertaining to the absolution itself." Compare *Purg.* ix. 118-126.

66-72. Both Jephthah (*Judges* xi.) and Agamemnon sacrificed their daughters.

79-84. 'If ignorant and unauthorised "pardoners" and others tempt you to light-hearted vows and offer you easy terms of remission, do not be so senseless as to be misled by them. The blessing of the Christian dispensation is turned into a curse by such as do the

like, and the very Jews have a right to make a mock of them.' Compare xxix. 118-126.

87. The Equator is the swiftest part of the heaven (*Conv.* ii. 4: 52-62). The equinoctial point is the germinal point of the Universe (*Parad.* x. 1-21). The sun is the source of all mortal life (*Parad.* xxii. 116). Dante's words may apply to any of the three; but since, at the date of the Vision, the sun is at the equinoctial point, they all coincide.

Fig. 10

105. *Cf. Purg.* xv. 55-57, 71 *sqq.*

115. Compare viii. 34-39, *note*; and ix. 61, *note.*

117. The Church on earth is *militant*; only in heaven *triumphant.*

124-126. The last reference to the features of a blessed spirit, as discerned by Dante, in any of the revolving spheres.

129. Mercury is so near the sun as to be seldom visible.

PARADISO

NOTE that Justinian, the Lawgiver, is the spokesman of the Roman Empire, whereby is indicated that the true significance of the Empire lies in its imposing and fostering the arts of peace. Justinian tells how Constantine removed the seat of Empire east from Rome to Byzantium, reversing the progress of Æneas who went from Troy to Rome, and how he, Justinian, came to the throne two hundred years later (1-9). He was a believer in the divine but not in the human nature of Christ, till converted by Agapetus to the truth which he now sees as clearly as logicians see the axiomatic law of contradictories. After his conversion God inspired him with the project of codifying the Roman Law, and he resigned the conduct of war to Belisarius (10-27). He goes on to rebuke the Guelf and Ghibelline factions by showing the august nature of the Roman Empire (28-33). In his exposition we note that the key of self-sacrifice is at once struck in the name of Pallas, the Etruscan-Greek volunteer who died for the Trojan cause, and is maintained till it leads up to the great

Mercurio " Poscia che Costantin l' aquila volse
contra il corso del ciel, ch' ella seguio
dietro all' antico, che Lavina tolse,
cento e cent' anni e più l' uccel di Dio
nell' estremo d' Europa si ritenne,
vicino ai monti de' quai prima uscio ;
e sotto l' ombra delle sacre penne
governò il mondo lì di mano in mano,
e sì cangiando in su la mia pervenne.
Cesare fui, e son Giustiniano,
che, per voler del primo amor ch' io sento,
d' entro le leggi trassi il troppo e il vano ;

struggles with Carthage and the East, and against internal factiousness (34-54); the founding of the Empire under Julius and Augustus and the establishment of universal peace (55-81); the great act of Redemption for which all was a preparation, and the subsequent fall of Jerusalem (82-93); and the Empire's championship of the Church which had been born under its protection (94-96). It is equally wicked, therefore, to think of opposing the Empire or of turning it to factious purposes (97-111). The story of Rome has been told in the star adorned by those souls whose virtuous deeds had in them some taint of worldly ambition or anxiety for good repute (112-117), but who are now free from all envious desire to have a greater reward, and rejoice rather in the harmony of which their estate is part (118-126). Here too is the lowly Romeo who was so disinterested but so sensitive concerning his reputation (127-142).

"After Constantine had wheeled back the eagle, counter to the course of heaven which it had followed in train of the ancient wight who took Lavinia, The honour-seeking

a hundred and a hundred years and more the bird of God abode on Europe's limit, neighbouring the mountains whence he first had issued;

and there he governed the world beneath the shadow of his sacred wings from hand to hand till by succeeding change he came to mine.

Cæsar I was, and am Justinian, who, by will of the Primal Love which now I feel, withdrew from out the Laws excess and inefficiency; Justinian

Mercurio e prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento, 13
una natura in Cristo esser, non più,
credeva, e di tal fede era contento;
ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue 16
sommo pastore, alla fede sincera
mi dirizzò con le parole sue.
Io gli credetti, e ciò che in sua fede era 19
veggio ora chiaro, sì come tu vedi
ogni contraddizion è falsa e vera.
Tosto che con la Chiesa mossi i piedi, 22
a Dio per grazia piacque d' inspirarmi
l' alto lavoro, e tutto a lui mi diedi;
ed al mio Belisar commendai l' armi, 25
cui la destra del ciel fu sì congiunta,
che segno fu ch' io dovessi posarmi.
Or qui alla question prima s' appunta 28
la mia risposta; ma sua condizione
mi stringe a seguitare alcuna giunta.
Perchè tu veggi con quanta ragione 31
si move contra il sacrosanto segno,
e chi 'l s' appropria, e chi a lui s' oppone,
vedi quanta virtù l' ha fatto degno 34
di reverenza, e cominciò dall' ora
che Pallante morì per dargli regno.
Tu sai che fece in Alba sua dimora 37
per trecent' anni ed oltre, infino al fine
che i tre ai tre pugnar per lui ancora.
E sai ch' ei fe' dal mal delle Sabine 40
al dolor di Lucrezia in sette regi,
vincendo intorno le genti vicine.
Sai quel ch' ei fe', portato dagli egregi 43
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro,
e contra gli altri principi e collegi:

and ere I fixed my mind upon the work, one nature, and no more, I held to be in Christ, and with such faith was I content ; The honour-seeking

but the blessed Agapetus, who was high pastor, to the faith without alloy directed me by his discourse.

Him I believed, and now the content of his faith I see, as clear as thou dost see, that every contradiction is both false and true.

So soon as with the Church I moved my feet, God of his grace it pleased to inspire me with the high task, and all to it I gave me ; The Cod

and to my Belisarius committed arms ; to whom heaven's right-hand was so conjoined it was a signal I should rest me from them.

Now here already is my answer's end to thy first question ; but its conditions force me to go on to some addition.

That thou mayst see with how good right against the sacred standard doth proceed both he who doth annex it to himself and he who doth oppose him to it,

see how great virtue hath made it worthy of reverence, beginning from the hour when Pallas died to give it sway. Rome

Thou knowest that it made its sojourn in Alba for three hundred years and more, until the close, when three with three yet fought for it.

And thou knowest what it wrought from the Sabine women's wrong unto Lucretia's woe, through seven kings, conquering around the neighbour folk. The Kings

Thou knowest what it wrought, borne by the chosen Romans against Brennus, against Pyrrhus and against the rest, princes and governments ; The Republic

Mercurio onde Torquato, e Quinzio che dal cirro 46
negletto fu nomato, i Deci, e' Fabi
ebber la fama che volontier mirro.

Esso atterrò l'orgoglio degli Arabi, 49
che di retro ad Annibale passaro
l' alpestre rocce, di che, Po, tu labi.

Sott' esso giovinetti trionfaro 52
Scipione e Pompeo, ed a quel colle,
sotto il qual tu nascesti, parve amaro.

Poi, presso al tempo che tutto il ciel volle 55
ridur lo mondo a suo modo sereno,
Cesare, per voler di Roma, il tolle:

e quel che fe' da Varo infino al Reno, 58
Isara vide ed Era e vide Senna,
ed ogni valle onde Rodano è pieno.

Quel che fe' poi ch' egli uscì di Ravenna, 61
e saltò Rubicon, fu di tal volo
che nol seguiteria lingua nè penna.

In ver la Spagna rivolse lo stuolo; 64
poi ver Durazzo, e Farsalia percosse
sì ch' al Nil caldo si sentì del duolo.

Antandro e Simoenta, onde si mosse, 67
rivide, e là dov' Ettore si cuba,
e, mal per Tolommeo, poi si riscosse:

da indi scese folgorando a Iuba; 70
poscia si volse nel vostro occidente,
dove sentia la Pompeiana tuba.

Di quel ch' ei fe' col baiulo seguente, 73
Bruto con Cassio nello inferno latra,
e Modena e Perugia fe' dolente.

Piangene ancor la trista Cleopatra, 76
che, fuggendogli innanzi, dal colubro
la morte prese subitana ed atra.

whence Torquatus and Quinctius, named from his neglected locks, the Decii and the Fabii, drew the fame which I rejoice in thus embalming. The honour-seeking

It cast down the pride of the Arabs that followed Hannibal across the Alpine rocks, whence, Po, thou glidest.

Under it, Scipio and Pompey triumphed, yet in their youth, and bitter did it seem unto those hills beneath which thou wast born.

Then, nigh the time when all heaven willed to bring the world to its own serene mood, Cæsar, at Rome's behest, laid hold of it; Cæsar

and what it wrought from Var to Rhine knoweth Isère and Arar, knoweth Seine and every valley by which Rhone is filled.

What it then wrought when he issued forth from Ravenna and sprang the Rubicon, was of such flight that neither tongue nor pen might follow it.

Towards Spain it wheeled the host, then towards Durazzo, and so smote Pharsalia that to hot Nile was felt the woe.

Antandros and Simois, whence it first came, it saw once more, and saw the spot where Hector lieth couched; and then (alas for Ptolemy!) ruffled itself again;

thereafter swooped in lightning upon Juba, then wheeled towards your west, where it heard the Pompeian trumpet.

For what it wrought with the succeeding marshal, Brutus and Cassius howl in hell; and Modena and Perugia it made doleful. Augustus

Yet doth wail for it the wretched Cleopatra, who, as she fled before it, caught from the viper sudden and black death.

Mercurio Con costui corse infino al lito rubro ; 79
con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace,
che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro.
Ma ciò che il segno che parlar mi face 82
fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo,
per lo regno mortal, ch' a lui soggiace,
diventa in apparenza poco e scuro, 85
se in mano al terzo Cesare si mira
con occhio chiaro e con affetto puro ;
chè la viva giustizia che mi spira 88
gli concedette, in mano a quel ch' io dico,
gloria di far vendetta alla sua ira.
Or qui t' ammira in ciò ch' io ti replico ! 91
Poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse
della vendetta del peccato antico.
E quando il dente Longobardo morse 94
la santa Chiesa, sotto alle sue ali
Carlo Magno, vincendo, la soccorse.
Omai puoi giudicar di quei cotali 97
ch' io accusai di sopra, e di lor falli,
che son cagion di tutti vostri mali.
L' uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli 100
oppone, e l' altro appropria quello a parte,
sì che forte a veder è chi più falli.
Faccian li Ghibellin, faccian lor arte 103
sott' altro segno ; chè mal segue quello
sempre chi la giustizia e lui diparte :
e non l' abbatta esto Carlo novello 106
coi Guelfi suoi, ma tema degli artigli
ch' a più alto leon trasser lo vello.
Molte fiate già pianser li figli 109
per la colpa del padre ; e non si creda
che Dio trasmuti l' arme per suoi gigli.

With him it coursed unto the Red-Sea shore, with him it set the world in so deep peace that Janus saw his temple barred upon him. The honour-seeking

But what the ensign that doth make me speak had done before, what it was yet to do throughout the mortal realm subject unto it,

becometh small and dusky to behold, if it be looked upon in the third Cæsar's hand with clear eye and pure heart; Tiberius

for the living justice that inspireth me, granted it, in his hand of whom I speak, the glory of wreaking vengeance for his wrath.

Now find a marvel in the double thing I tell thee! Thereafter, under Titus, to wreak vengeance on the vengeance on the ancient sin it rushed. Titus

And when the Lombard tooth bit into Holy Church, under its wings did Charlemagne victorious succour her. Charlemagne

Now mayst thou judge of such as I accused but now, and of their sins, which are the cause of all your ills.

The one opposeth to the public standard the yellow lilies, and the other doth annex it to a faction, so that 'tis hard to see which most offendeth.

Ply, ply the Ghibellines their arts under some other standard! for this he ever followeth ill who cleaveth justice from it; Ghibellines and Guelfs

and let not that new Charles down-beat it with his Guelfs, but let him fear talons that have ripped from mightier lion its fell.

Many a time ere now have children wailed for father's fault, and let him not suppose God will change arms for those his lilies.

Mercurio Questa picciola stella si correda
dei buoni spirti, che son stati attivi
perchè onore e fama li succeda ;
e quando li disiri poggian quivi
sì disviando, pur convien che i raggi
del vero amore in su poggin men vivi.
Ma, nel commensurar dei nostri gaggi
col merto, è parte di nostra letizia,
perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi.
Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia
in noi l' affetto sì, che non si puote
torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.
Diverse voci fan giù dolci note ;
così diversi scanni in nostra vita
rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote.
E dentro alla presente margarita
luce la luce di Romeo, di cui
fu l' opra bella e grande mal gradita.
Ma i Provenzali che fer contra lui
non hanno riso, e però mal cammina
qual si fa danno del ben fare altrui.
Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna regina,
Ramondo Beringhieri, e ciò gli fece
Romeo persona umile e peregrina ;
e poi il mosser le parole biece
a domandar ragione a questo giusto,
che gli assegnò sette e cinque per diece ;
indi partissi povero e vetusto ;
e se il mondo sapesse il cor ch' egli ebbe
mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto,
assai lo loda, e più lo loderebbe."

This little star adorneth her with good spirits who were active that honour and fame might come to them ; The honour-seeking

and when hereon desire, thus swerving, leaneth, needs must the rays of the true love mount upward with less life.

But in the commeasuring of our rewards to our desert is part of our joy, because we see them neither less not more.

Whereby the living justice so sweeteneth our affection that it may ne'er be warped to any malice.

Divers voices upon earth make sweet harmony, and so the different degrees in our life render sweet harmony amongst these wheels.

And within the present pearl shineth the light of Romeo, whose beauteous and great work was so ill answered. Romeo

But the Provençals who wrought against him have not the laugh ; wherefore he taketh an ill path who maketh of another's good work his own loss.

Four daughters, and each one a queen, had Raymond Berengar ; and this was wrought for him by Romeo, a lowly and an alien man ;

then words uttered askance moved him to demand account of this just man, who gave him five and seven for every ten ;

then took his way in poverty and age ; and did the world know the heart he had within him, begging his life by crust and crust, much as it praiseth, it would praise him more."

1-9. Constantine reigned A.D. 306-337. Justinian A.D. 527-565. Constantinople is relatively near to the site of ancient Troy. Æneas *took* Lavinia with her father's consent, though she was already betrothed to Turnus, King of the Latins.

10. His personality remains. His office is his no longer. Compare *Purg.* xix. 127-138.

13-18. The Monophysites accepted the divine nature of Christ only, not the human. The Empress Theodora persistently favoured them, and Justinian tolerated them till Agapētus, who was Pope A.D. 535-6, when on an embassy at Constantinople, induced him to depose Anthĭmus, Bishop of Constantinople, on the ground of his being a Monophysite, whereon the other heads of the sect were likewise excommunicated.

19-21. Compare ii. 40-45. It is a cardinal point of Dante's belief that in the perfect state all *effort* both of will and intellect shall cease, while their *activity* reaches its highest point. Even truths that now seem paradoxical shall be seen as axioms, and the facts that now seem perplexing or distressing shall be felt as axiomatically right and beautiful. But unfathomed depths of the Divine Nature and Will shall ever remain, adored but uncomprehended. Compare *Parad.* xix. 40-57, xxi. 82-102, etc.

Both in this passage and in ii. 40-45 the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is the point which Dante declares will be as clear to souls in bliss as "the initial truth which man believeth," or is as clear to Justinian as that "every contradiction is both false and true." Now "the initial truth which man believeth" is not a generic term for axiomatic truth, but a specific reference to the "law of contradictories" on which the whole system of Aristotelian logic is built up. It asserts that the propositions *this is so* and *this is not so* cannot both be true in the same sense and at the same time. Compare Wallace, § 30. And it follows immediately from this fundamental axiom, that of the two propositions "all A's are B's" and "some A's are not B's," or of the two propositions "no A's are B's" and "some A's are B's," one must be true and the other false. They cannot both be true or both false in the same sense at the same time. For example, if the pro-

position "some A's are not B's" be true, the proposition "all A's are B's" is false; for if not, take one of the A's that is not a B; now since all A's are B's, that particular A is a B; therefore that particular A both is and is not a B, which is impossible, *therefore*, etc. Propositions so related are called contradictories, and therefore every "contradiction" or "pair of contradictories" is "both false and true" axiomatically.

25. Belisarius (c. 505-565), by his campaigns against the Ostrogoths, went far towards restoring the authority of the Empire in Italy. He subsequently fell into disfavour, and an exaggerated tradition represents him in beggary as the type of fallen greatness.

28. The question implied in *Parad.* v. 127.

31-96. Compare with this passage *Conv.* iv. 4, 5, and the whole of Bk. ii. of the *De Monarchia*. Compare also Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 167-172, and *Æneid*, vi. 756-854; and perhaps we should add the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, chap. xi. For Dante's attitude towards Guelphism and Ghibellinism generally, see Gardner, i. 4, and Villani, *Introduction*, § 6.

N.B. In the following summary the italicised words directly connect the narrative with the text of the Canto.

Virgil, by a gracious fiction, represents the Trojan Æneas when he landed, fate-driven, on the shores of Italy, and was involved in war with Turnus, king of the Latins, as seeking and gaining the alliance of the Greek Evander, who had established a kingdom on the seven hills, afterwards to be the site of Rome. Evander's only son and heir, *Pallas*, led the band of volunteers and was slain by Turnus, but avenged by Æneas. The kingdom of the latter was founded, however, not on the seven hills, but at Lavinium, whence it was transferred by his son Ascanius to *Alba Longa* where it remained for *more than* 300 *years*, till, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (670-638 B.C.), Alba fell under Rome, on the defeat of the *three* Alban champions, the Curiatii, by the survivor of the *three* Roman champions, the Horatii; for meanwhile the Alban outcast, Romulus, had founded a camp of refuge on the Palatine (one of the seven hills), and had provided the desperadoes, who gathered there, with wives, by seizing the *Sabine women* who had come to attend the public

games. Under *him and his six successors* Rome gradually extended her power, till the outrage offered to *Lucretia* by Sextus, the son of the last king, so roused the indignation of the people that the monarchy was swept away (510 B.C.).

The long period of the Republic, up to the beginning of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul (58 B.C.), is passed over rapidly by Dante, without notice of constitutional and social struggles; but the main aspects of the outward history are dealt with by rapid and effective strokes. During this period Rome established her supremacy over the other Latin tribes, repelled invasions of Italy, both by civilised and barbarous peoples, and extended her dominion by counter invasions. Lucius *Quintius* Cincinnatus (from cincinnus=*a curl*), called from the plough to the dictatorship, conquered the Æquians (458 B.C.); against *Brennus* (390, etc., B.C.) and his Gauls, one of the *Fabii*, and Titus Manlius *Torquatus* (as well as others, notably Camillus), distinguished themselves. The *Decii*,—father, son and grandson,—died self-devoted deaths in serving against the Latins (340 B.C.), the Samnites (295 B.C.) and the Greek invader Pyrrhus (280 B.C.); while the greatest of all the Fabii, Quintus *Fabius* Maximus (Cunctator), saved Rome from *Hannibal* who *crossed the Alps* and victoriously invaded Italy in 218 B.C., in which same year *Scipio* Africanus (the Elder), *a boy of seventeen*, won military fame by saving his father's life at the defeat of Ticinus. It was he who subsequently organised the counter invasion of Africa which compelled Hannibal to withdraw from Italy. *Cf.* xxvii. 61 *seq.* [Note the anachronism by which Dante calls the northern Africans *Arabs*.]

By a great leap Dante now brings us to the achievement of *Pompey*, the great conqueror of the eastern kings and queller of the faction of Marius. He celebrated a triumph *when not yet twenty-five* (81 B.C.). After a passing reference to the mythical exploits of the great Romans in reducing Fiesole *which overhangs Florence*, and which was the refuge of Catiline (Villani, i. 31-37), we find ourselves following the career of *Cæsar* preparatory to the founding of the Roman Empire. Lines 58-60 refer to the campaigns in *Gaul* (58-50 B.C.); lines 61-63 to Cæsar's crossing the

Rubicon (49 B.C.) between Ravenna and Rimini, thereby leaving his province, without orders from the Senate, and so formally beginning the civil war. In the same year he overcame formidable opposition in *Spain*, and next year unsuccessfully besieged Pompey in *Dyrrachium*, and then utterly defeated him at *Pharsalia* in Thessaly. Pompey escaped to *Egypt*, where he was treacherously slain by Ptolemy (lines 64-66). Cæsar crossed the Hellespont and, says Lucan, visited the Troad (*cf.* l. 6). He took Egypt from *Ptolemy* and gave it to Cleopatra, subdued *Juba* king of Numidia who had protected his opponents after Pharsalia, and then returned to Spain (45 B.C.) where *Pompey's sons* had raised an army (lines 67-72). After the murder of Cæsar his nephew Augustus defeated Mark Antony at *Modĕna* (43 B.C.); then, with Antony as his ally, defeated his uncle's assassins, *Brutus* and *Cassius* (*cf. Inf.* xxxiv.), at Philippi (42 B.C.), and afterwards Antony's brother Lucius at *Perugia* (41 B.C.). In 31 B.C. at Actium he finally defeated his rival Mark Antony, who soon afterwards committed suicide, and his example was followed by his paramour *Cleopatra*, who died by the tooth of a *viper* (lines 76-78). This made Augustus master of the whole Roman Empire to the *remotest ends of Egypt*, and the *temple of Janus*, the gates of which were always open in war-time, was, for the third time only in the history of Rome, *closed* in sign of universal peace. Heaven "had brought the world to its own serene mood" (line 56), and all was ready for the *birth of Christ* (lines 79-81), who was *crucified* under Tiberius, the successor of Augustus, whereby the sin of human nature at the fall was avenged (lines 82-90). Jerusalem fell, under Titus, whereby the sin of slaying Christ was avenged on the Jews (lines 91-93).

The epilogue of the defence of the Church by Charlemagne against the Lombard king Desiderius, whom he dethroned in A.D. 774, produces a disjointed effect upon the modern reader, but would seem natural enough to Dante and his contemporaries (see *Argument*).

88-90. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 13.

91-93. See next Canto.

97-99. Compare lines 31-33.

100, 101. The Guelfs oppose the French arms and influence to the Empire. The Ghibellines take the name of the Empire in vain for factious purposes.

106-108. Carlo Zoppo (=Charles the Lame), of Anjou, titular King of Jerusalem (see xix. 127), and actual King of Naples and head of the Guelfs of Italy. Dante is never weary of expressing his contempt for him. There seems to be no specific reference in line 108. Many a mightier lion than Cripple Charles had had his fell torn off his back by the Imperial Eagle.

109-111. A forecast perhaps of some miseries that actually fell on the descendants of Charles, and of others which Dante vainly anticipated. Compare ix. 1-6.

127-142. See Villani, vi. 90.

Raymond Berengar IV. of Provence (reigned 1209-1245), to be distinguished from his contemporary and opponent Raymond VII. of Toulouse (reigned 1222-1249), was notorious for his liberality and his patronage of poets and other men of genius. His daughter, Margaret, married Louis IX. of France (St. Louis). Eleanor married Henry III. of England. Sancha married Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall; and Beatrice, his youngest daughter, whom he made his heiress, married Charles of Anjou after her father's death. Raymond's able and upright chamberlain, Romeo of Villeneuve (1170-1250), is also an historical character; but his name, Romeo, is the current term for one who has made a pilgrimage to Rome, or a pilgrim generally (see *Vita Nuova*, xli. 34-52). Hence arose the romantic legend recorded by Villani, and here followed by Dante. "There came to his [Raymond Berengar's] court a certain Romeo, who was returning from S. James', and hearing the goodness of Count Raymond abode in his court, and was so wise and valorous, and came so much into favour with

the Count, that he made him master and steward of all that he had. . . . Four daughters had the Count and no male child. By prudence and care the good Romeo first married the eldest for him to the good King Louis of France by giving money with her, saying to the Count, 'Leave it to me, and do not grudge the cost, for if thou marriest the first well thou wilt marry all the others the better for the sake of her kinship and at less cost.' And so it came to pass; for straightway the King of England, to be of kin to the King of France, took the second with little money; afterwards his carnal brother, being the king elect of the Romans, after the same manner took the third; the fourth being still to marry the good Romeo said, 'For this one I desire that thou shouldst have a brave man for thy son, who may be thine heir,'—and so he did. Finding Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of King Louis of France, he said, 'Give her to him for he is like to be the best man in the world,' prophesying of him: and this was done. And it came to pass afterwards through envy, which destroys all good, that the barons of Provence accused the good Romeo that he had managed the Count's treasure ill, and they called upon him to give an account. The worthy Romeo said, 'Count, I have served thee long while, and raised thy estate from small to great, and for this, through the false counsel of thy people, thou art little grateful. I came to thy court a poor pilgrim, and I have lived virtuously here; give me back my mule, my staff, and my scrip, as I came here, and I renounce thy service.' The Count would not that he should depart; but, for nought that he could do would he remain; and, as he came so he departed, and no one knew whence he came or whither he went. But many held that he was a sainted soul."

PARADISO

IN significant connection with the Empire comes the treatment of the Redemption, the chief theological discourse in the *Paradiso*. Justinian and the other spirits vanish with hymns of triumph (1-9). Dante would fain ask a question, but when he raises his head to speak, he is overcome by awe, and bends it down again (10-15). Beatrice reads his thought, and bids him give good heed to her discourse (16–24). After man's fall, the Word of God united to himself in his own person the once pure, now contaminated, human nature. That human Nature bore on the cross the just penalty of its sin, but that divine Person suffered by the same act the supremest outrage. At the act of justice God rejoiced and heaven opened. At the outrage the Jews exulted and the earth trembled; and vengeance fell upon Jerusalem (25-51). But why this method of redemption? (52-57). Only those who love can understand the answer. God's love ungrudgingly reveals itself, and whatever it creates without intermediary is immortal, free, and god-like. Such was man till made unlike God by sin, and so disfranchised (58-81),

Mercurio " *Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth,*
superillustrans claritate tua
felices ignes horum malachoth! "

Così, volgendosi alla nota sua,
fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,
sopra la qual doppio lume s' addua :

ed essa e l' altre mossero a sua danza,
e, quasi velocissime faville,
mi si velar di subita distanza.

Io dubitava, e dicea : " Dille, dille,"
fra me, " dille," diceva, " alla mia donna
che mi disseta con le dolci stille ; "

only to be reinstated by a free pardon, or by full atonement (82-93). But man cannot humble himself below what he is entitled to, as much as he had striven to exalt himself above it; and therefore he cannot make atonement (94-102). So God must reinstate man; and since "all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth," God proceeded both by the way of mercy, and by the way of truth or justice, since by the incarnation man was made capable of reinstating himself (103-120). Beatrice further explains that the elements and their compounds are made not direct by God, but by angels, who also draw the life of animal and plant out of compound matter that has the potentiality of such life in it; whereas first matter, the angels, and the heavens are direct creations of God; and so were the bodies of Adam and Eve, which were therefore immortal, save for sin; as are therefore the bodies of the redeemed who are restored to all the privileges of unfallen man (121-148).

"Hosanna! Holy God of Sabaoth! making lustrous by thy brightness from above the blessed fires of these kingdoms!" The honour-seeking

So, revolving to its own note, I saw that Being sing, on whom the twin lights double one another:

and it and the others entered on their dance, and the swiftest sparks, veiled them from me by sudden distance.

I, hesitating, said, "Speak to her, speak to her," within myself, "speak to her," I said, "to my lady who slaketh my thirst with the sweet drops;"

Mercurio ma quella riverenza che s' indonna
di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE,
mi richinava come l' uom ch' assonna.

Poco sofferse me cotal Beatrice,
e cominciò, raggiandomi d' un riso
tal, che nel foco faria l' uom felice :

" Secondo mio infallibile avviso,
come giusta vendetta giustamente
vengiata fosse, t' ha in pensier miso ;

ma io ti solverò tosto la mente :
e tu ascolta, chè le mie parole
di gran sentenza ti faran presente.

Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole
freno a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque,
dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole ;

onde l' umana specie inferma giacque
giù per secoli molti in grande errore,
fin ch' al Verbo di Dio di scender piacque,

u' la natura, che dal suo Fattore
s' era allungata, unio a sè in persona
con l' atto sol del suo eterno amore.

Or drizza il viso a quel ch' or si ragiona :
Questa natura al suo Fattore unita,
qual fu creata, fu sincera e buona ;

ma per sè stessa fu ella sbandita
di Paradiso, però che si torse
da via di verità e da sua vita.

La pena dunque che la croce porse,
s' alla natura assunta si misura,
nulla giammai sì giustamente morse ;

e così nulla fu di tanta ingiura,
guardando alla persona che sofferse,
in che era contratta tal natura.

but that reverence which all o'ermastereth me, The honour-seeking
though but by Be or Ice, again down-bowed me, as a man who slumbers.

Short time Beatrice left me thus; and began, casting the ray upon me of a smile such as would make one blessed though in the flame:

"According to my thought that cannot err, how just vengeance justly was avenged, hath set thee pondering;

but I will speedily release thy mind; and do thou hearken, for my words shall make thee gift of an august pronouncement.

Because he endured not for his own good a rein The fall
upon the power that wills, that man who ne'er was born, as he condemned himself, condemned his whole offspring;

wherefore the human race lay sick down there for many an age, in great error, till it pleased the Word of God to descend,

where he joined that nature which had gone astray from its Creator to himself, in person, by sole act of his eternal Love.

Now turn thy sight to what I now discourse: This nature, so united to its Maker, as it was when created was unalloyed and good;

but by its own self it had been exiled from Paradise, because it swerved from the way of truth, and from its proper life.

As for the penalty, then, inflicted by the Cross,— The crucifixion
if it be measured by the Nature taken on, never did any other bite as justly;

and, in like manner, ne'er was any so outrageous if we look to the Person who endured it, in whom this nature was embodied.

Mercurio Però d' un atto uscir cose diverse ; 46
chè a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte :
per lei tremò la terra e il ciel s' aperse.

Non ti dee oramai parer più forte, 49
quando si dice che giusta vendetta
poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte.

Ma io veggi' or la tua mente ristretta 52
di pensier in pensier dentro ad un nodo,
del qual con gran disio solver s' aspetta.

Tu dici : ' Ben discerno ciò ch' i' odo ; 55
ma, perchè Dio volesse, m' è occulto,
a nostra redenzion pur questo modo.'

Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto 58
agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno
nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto.

Veramente, però ch' a questo segno 61
molto si mira, e poco si discerne,
dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.

La divina bontà, che da sè sperne 64
ogni livore, ardendo in sè scintilla
sì, che dispiega le bellezze eterne.

Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla, 67
non ha poi fine, perchè non si move
la sua imprenta, quand' ella sigilla.

Ciò che da essa senza mezzo piove 70
libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace
alla virtute delle cose nuove.

Più l' è conforme, e però più le piace ; 73
chè l' ardor santo, ch' ogni cosa raggia,
nella più simigliante è più vivace.

Di tutte queste cose s' avvantaggia 76
l' umana creatura, e, s' una manca,
di sua nobilità convien che caggia.

So from one act issued effects apart; God and the Jews rejoiced in one same death; thereat shuddered the earth and heaven opened. The honour-seeking

No more, now, should it seem hard saying to thee that just vengeance was afterward avenged by a just court.

But now I see thy mind from thought to thought entangled in a knot, from which, with great desire, it awaiteth release.

Thou sayest, *Yea, what I hear I understand; but why God willed for our redemption this only mode, is hidden from me.* The redemption

This decree, my brother, is buried from the eyes of everyone whose understanding is not matured within love's flame.

But since this target oft is aimed at, and discerned but little, I will declare why such mode was more worthy.

The divine excellence, which spurns all envy from it, burning within itself shooteth such sparkles out as to display the eternal beauties.

That which distilleth from it without intervention, thereafter hath no end; because its imprint may not be removed when it hath stamped the seal. Unfallen man

That which raineth down from it without intervention, is all free, because not subject to the power of changing things.

It is more close conformed to it, therefore more pleasing to it; for the sacred glow that rayeth over everything, in what is most like itself is the most living.

All these points of vantage hath the human creature, and should one fail, needs must it fall from its nobility.

Mercurio Solo il peccato è quel che la disfranca, 79
e falla dissimile al sommo bene,
per che del lume suo poco s' imbianca ;
ed in sua dignità mai non riviene, 82
se non riempie dove colpa vota,
contra mal dilettar, con giuste pene.
Vostra natura, quando peccò tota 85
nel seme suo, da queste dignitadi,
come da Paradiso fu remota ;
nè ricovrar poteansi, se tu badi 88
ben sottilmente, per alcuna via,
senza passar per l' un di questi guadi :
o che Dio, solo per sua cortesia, 91
dimesso avesse, o che l' uom per sè isso
avesse satisfatto a sua follia.
Ficca mo l' occhio per entro l' abisso 94
dell' eterno consiglio, quanto puoi
al mio parlar distrettamente fisso.
Non potea l' uomo nei termini suoi 97
mai satisfar, per non poter ir giuso
con umiltate, ubbidiendo poi,
quanto disubbidiendo intese ir suso ; 100
e questa è la cagion perchè l' uom fue
da poter satisfar per sè dischiuso.
Dunque a Dio convenia con le vie sue 103
riparar l' uomo a sua intera vita,
dico con l' una, o ver con ambo e due.
Ma perchè l' opra è tanto più gradita 106
dell' operante, quanto più appresenta
della bontà del core ond' è uscita ;
la divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta, 109
di proceder per tutte le sue vie
a rilevarvi suso fu contenta ;

Sin only is the thing that doth disfranchise it, and maketh it unlike to the highest good, so that its light the less doth brighten it; The honour-seeking

and to its dignity it ne'er may come again, except it fill again where fault hath made a void, against the ill delight setting just penalty.

Your nature, when it sinned in its totality in its first seed, from these dignities, even as from Paradise, was parted; Paradise Lost

nor might they be recovered, if thou look right keenly, by any way save passing one or the other of these fords:

either that God, of his sole beneficence, should have remitted; or that man should of himself have given satisfaction for his folly.

Fix now thine eye within the abyss of the eternal counsel, as close attached as e'er thou mayest be to my discourse.

Man had not power, within his own boundaries, ever to render satisfaction; since he might not go in humbleness by after-obedience so deep down

as in disobedience he had framed to exalt himself on high; and this the cause why from the power to render satisfaction by himself man was shut off.

Wherefore needs must God with his own ways reinstate man in his perfect life, I mean with one way or with both the two. Justice and mercy

But because the doer's deed is the more gracious the more it doth present us of the heart's goodness whence it issued,

the divine Goodness, which doth stamp the world, deigned to proceed on all his ways to lift you up again;

Mercurio nè tra l' ultima notte e il primo die
sì alto e sì magnifico processo,
o per l' una o per l' altra fu o fie :
chè più largo fu Dio a dar sè stesso,
a far l' uom sufficiente a rilevarsi,
che s' egli avesse sol da sè dimesso ;
e tutti gli altri modi erano scarsi
alla giustizia, se il Figliuol di Dio
non fosse umiliato ad incarnarsi.
Or, per empierti bene ogni disio,
ritorno a dichiarare in alcun loco,
perchè tu veggi lì così com' io.
Tu dici: 'Io veggio l' acqua, io veggio il foco,
l' aer e la terra, e tutte lor misture
venire a corruzione, e durar poco' ;
e queste cose pur fur creature ;
perchè, se ciò ch' ho detto è stato vero,
esser dovrien da corruzion sicure.
Gli angeli, frate, e il paese sincero
nel qual tu sei, dir si posson creati,
sì come sono, in loro essere intero ;
ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati
e quelle cose che di lor si fanno,
da creata virtù sono informati.
Creata fu la materia ch' egli hanno,
creata fu la virtù informante
in queste stelle, che intorno a lor vanno.
L' anima d' ogni bruto e delle piante
di complession potenziata tira
lo raggio e il moto delle luci sante.
Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira
la somma beninanza, e la innamora
di sè, sì che poi sempre la disira.

nor between the last night and the first day was, nor shall be, so lofty and august a progress made on one or on the other ; The honour-seeking

for more generous was God in giving of himself to make man able to uplift himself again, than had he only of himself granted remission ;

and all other modes fell short of justice, except the Son of God had humbled him to become flesh. The incarnation

Now, to fulfil for thee every desire, I go back to explain a certain passage, that thou mayst there discern e'en as do I.

Thou sayest : *I see the water, I see the fire, the air, the earth, and all their combinations meet their dissolution and endure but little ;*

and yet these things were creatures, so that if that which I have said to thee be true, they ought to be secure against corruption.

The Angels, brother, and the unsullied country in which thou art, may be declared to be created, even as they are, in their entire being ; Creation

but the elements which thou hast named and all the things compounded of them, have by created virtue been informed.

Created was the matter which they hold, created was the informing virtue in these stars which sweep around them.

The life of every brute and of the plants is drawn from compounds having potency, by the ray and movement of the sacred lights.

But your life is breathed without mean by the supreme beneficence who maketh it enamoured of itself, so that thereafter it doth ever long for it. Resurrection of the body

Mercurio E quinci puoi argomentare ancora 145
vostra resurrezion, se tu ripensi
come l' umana carne fessi allora
che li primi parenti intrambo fensi." 148

5, 6. Justinian, on whom the glory of Lawgiver and the glory of Emperor combine their lights, each one making the other its twin.

14. He is awed by anything that is so much as a fragment of Beatrice's name.

15. Compare iii. 6.

19-21. See vi. 91-93.

25. Compare xxvi. 115-117, *note*.

30-33. Note the reference to the Three Persons of the Trinity in *Word*, *Creator*, *Love*. The like references abound throughout the poem. Further, compare line 31 with xxxiii. 4-9.

40-42. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 13. This doctrine of Dante's that human nature, in its totality, was *judicially executed* on the Cross seems to be peculiar to himself.

64-66. The connection is close, though not obvious. Beatrice goes back to the creation in order to explain the state from which man fell; and begins by declaring that the Divine Goodness was moved to utter itself in creation by an impulse of love, and had no jealous reserve in communicating its own august attributes. Compare xxix. 13-18, *note*.

67. For the distinction between mediate and immediate creation, see lines 130-144 of this Canto.

71. True freedom consists in being subject only to the eternal truth of things, not to the dominion of changing appearances. Compare *Purg.* xvi. 79-81. But there is a difficulty here, for amongst the primal group of direct creations are the material heavens and the *prima materia*, or undifferentiated material potentiality, which is the possibility of everything but the actuality of nothing. Compare xxix. 22-36. The heavens can only be called free in the sense that they follow out their nature unimpeded, not in the higher sense of having free choice. Compare v. 19-24. And the *prima materia* can scarcely claim freedom in any

And hence thou further mayst infer your resurrection, if thou think again how was the making of the human flesh then when the first parents were both formed." The honour-seeking

sense, nor exemption from the dominion of changing things. Still less has it any special conformity of nature to the Divine (line 73). No solution of this difficulty suggests itself. It would appear as though Dante had not the full range of "direct creations" under his view at the moment, and was thinking only of angels and men, and possibly the material heavens.

79-120. It is in this section of the discourse that the influence (direct or indirect) of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* is most conspicuous. Anselm teaches that actually (though not in intention) Adam's disobedience was an injury to himself, not at all to God (*cf.* line 80 of this Canto), and that what was demanded, therefore, was not a propitiation or a ransom, but a restoration (*cf.* 82); which must be brought about by man giving what he did not owe in measure equal to that in which he had seized what he did not own (compare 83, 84), which is impossible, since he owes everything and owns nothing (compare 97, 98). Hence the being who alone owns that which he does not owe must become the being who alone stands in need of making such an unowed offering, *i.e.* God must become man (compare 115-117). See the *Cur Deus homo* passim, and (to avoid misconception) especially Bk. i. cap. 15.

103-105. Compare *Psalm* xxv. 10.

115-120. It will appear from a comparison of the *De Monarchia*, ii. 13, that Beatrice means 'God determined to be merciful, but did better than remit the fault, for he made man capable of redeeming it. And he determined to be just, and therefore he assumed the whole of human nature into one person (his own) in order that it might collectively pay the penalty of its sin.'

124-129. See lines 67-69. 'Why, then, do these creations of God (the elements and things compounded of them) perish?'

132. Not only in their essential or ideal quality, but

in their whole concrete being, just as they are. Compare i. 2, *note.*

133-141. The *prima materia* is *informed* (*i.e.* so combined with a "form" or ideal and essential principle as to pass from the possibility of being *anything* to the actuality of being *something*) not direct by God, but by created powers, *i.e.* angels or heavenly influences. The transforming and vivifying power of the sun (and in lesser degree the moon) was supposed to have its analogies in equally real but less obvious influences of the other heavenly bodies, especially the planets. It is these heavenly influences collectively that draw the "soul" or *life* of plant (nutritive and reproductive) or animal (sensitive and locomotive) from the stage of potentiality

THE BOUNDARIES OF PROVENCE

To Canto VIII. 58-60.

in the germinal material into that of actuality in the living thing itself.

142-144. Compare *Purg.* xxv., especially lines 61-75. In *Conv.* iii. 6: 45-57, another and less orthodox doctrine seems to be taught.

145. *Hence*, *i.e.* 'from the distinctions now drawn'; for the bodies both of Adam and Eve were made immediately by God, and when the work of redemption is finally consummated (after the last judgment) man's body will be restored to the dignity which it lost only by sin. The argument is Anselm's. He meets the obvious objection that it does not cover the case of the "resurrection unto wrath," by urging that if the saved rejoice both in body and soul, it is but fitting that the lost should suffer in both.

NAPLES AND SICILY

To Canto VIII. 61-63, 67-69.

PARADISO

THE planet Venus and ancient idolatry (1-15). All angels, heavens and blessed spirits, from the Seraphim nearest God outwards, are twined in one concerted cosmic dance; this dance the spirits in Venus leave to minister to Dante, singing *Hosanna* as they come; and one of them declares their kinship of movement and of love with the celestial Beings to whom he had once addressed his love hymn (16-39). Dante, with Beatrice's sanction, asks who the spirit is, and he with a flash of joy reveals himself as Dante's friend, Carlo Martello, once heir to the lordship of Provence and the kingdom of Naples, and actual king of Hungary, though Sicily had revolted from his house in consequence of that ill government against which his brother, Robert of Naples, mean offspring of a generous sire, would do well to take warning (40-84). Dante's joy in meeting his friend is increased by the knowledge that it is seen as clearly by that friend

Venere Solea creder lo mondo in suo periclo
che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore
raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiciclo:
per che non pure a lei facean onore
di sacrificio e di votivo grido,
le genti antiche nell' antico errore,
ma Dione onoravano e Cupido,
quella per madre sua, questo per figlio,
e dicean ch' ei sedette in grembo a Dido;
e da costei, ond' io principio piglio,
pigliavan il vocabol della stella
che il sol vagheggia, or da coppa, or da ciglio.
Io non m' accorsi del salire in ella;
ma d' esservi entro mi fece assai fede
la donna mia, ch' io vidi far più bella.

as by himself, and further, by the thought that it is in God that it is thus discerned (85-90). He asks him how it is that degenerate children can spring from noble parents (91-93). Carlo explains that for every natural attribute of any being there is provision of a corresponding good, and that since God is perfect and has made his ministers perfect for their offices, it follows that there is a fit place for everything and everyone, for which place it is designed and at which it is aimed (94-114). The social relations of man demand diversity of gift, which diversity is provided for by the action of the heavens on human natures, but without regard to descent, so that natural heredity is overruled by celestial influences (115-135). Whereas we in assigning a man's place to him give heed only to hereditary position or such-like irrelevancies instead of studying his natural gift. Hence general confusion and incompetency (136-148).

The world was wont to think in its peril that the fair Cyprian rayed down mad love, rolled in the third epicycle ; The amorous

wherefore not only to her did they do honour of sacrifice and votive cry, those ancient folk in the ancient error,

but Dione did they honour, and Cupid, the one as her mother, the other as her son, and told how he had sat in Dido's lap ; Idolatry

and from her from whom I take my start, they took the name of the star which courts the sun, now from the nape, now from the brow.

I had no sense of rising into her, but my lady gave me full faith that I was there, because I saw her grow more beautiful.

Venere E come in fiamma favilla si vede,
e come in voce voce si discerne,
quando una è ferma e l' altra va e riede;
vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne
moversi in giro più e men correnti,
al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne.
Di fredda nube non disceser venti,
o visibili o no, tanto festini,
che non paressero impediti e lenti
a chi avesse quei lumi divini
veduti a noi venir, lasciando il giro
pria cominciato in gli alti Serafini.
E dentro a quei che più innanzi appariro,
sonava *Osanna* sì che unque poi
di riudir non fui senza disiro.
Indi si fece l' un più presso a noi,
e solo incominciò: " Tutti sem presti
al tuo piacer, perchè di noi ti gioi.
Noi ci volgiam coi Principi celesti
d' un giro, e d' un girare, e d' una sete,
ai quali tu del mondo già dicesti:
Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete;
e sem sì pien d' amor che per piacerti,
non fia men dolce un poco di quiete."
Poscia che gli occhi miei si furo offerti
alla mia donna riverenti, ed essa
fatti gli avea di sè contenti e certi,
rivolsersi alla luce, che promessa
tanto s' avea, e: " Di' chi siete? " fue
la voce mia di grande affetto impressa.
E quanta e quale vid' io lei far piùe
per allegrezza nuova che s' accrebbe,
quand' io parlai, all' allegrezze sue!

The amorous

And as we see a spark within a flame, and as a voice within a voice may be distinguished, if one stayeth firm, and the other cometh and goeth ;
so in that light itself I perceived other torches moving in a circle more and less swift, after the measure, I suppose, of their eternal vision.
From a chill cloud there ne'er descended blasts, or visible or no, so rapidly as not to seem hindered and lagging
to whoso should have seen those lights divine advance towards us, quitting the circling that hath its first beginning in the exalted Seraphim.

Blessed spirits

And within those who most in front appeared, *Hosanna* sounded in such wise that never since have I been free from longing to re-hear it.
Then one drew himself more nigh to us, and alone began : " All we are ready at thy will, that thou mayst have thy joy of us.

Carlo Martello

We roll with those celestial Princes in one circle and in one circling and in one thirst, to whom thou from the world didst sometime say :
Ye who by understanding give the third heaven motion ; and so full of love are we that, to pleasure thee, a space of quiet shall be no less sweet to us."
When mine eyes had been raised in reverence to my Lady, and she had satisfied them with herself and given them assurance,

Dante

they turned them back to the light which so largely had made proffer of itself, and, " Say who ye be," was my word, with great affection stamped.
Ah ! how I saw it wax in quantity and kind at the new joy which, when I spoke, was added to its joys !

Venere Così fatta mi disse: " Il mondo m' ebbe
giù poco tempo; e, se più fosse stato,
molto sarà di mal, che non sarebbe.

La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,
che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.

Assai m' amasti, ed avesti bene onde;
chè, s' io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava
di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.

Quella sinistra riva che si lava
di Rodano, poi ch' è misto con Sorga,
per suo signore a tempo m' aspettava;

e quel corno d' Ausonia, che s' imborga
di Bari, di Gaeta e di Catona,
da ove Tronto e Verde in mare sgorga.

Fulgeami già in fronte la corona
di quella terra che il Danubio riga
poi che le ripe tedesche abbandona;

e la bella Trinacria, che caliga
tra Pachino e Peloro, sopra il golfo
che riceve da Euro maggior briga,

non per Tifeo, ma per nascente solfo,
attesi avrebbe li suoi regi ancora,
nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,

se mala signoria, che sempre accora
li popoli suggetti, non avesse
mosso Palermo a gridar: *Mora, mora.*

E se mio frate questo antivedesse,
l' avara povertà di Catalogna
già fuggiria, perchè non gli offendesse;

chè veramente provveder bisogna
per lui, o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca
carcata più di carco non si pogna.

Thus changed, it said to me: "The world held me below but little time; had it been more, much ill shall be that had not been. The amorous

My joy holdeth me concealed from thee, raying around me, and hideth me like to a creature swathed in its own silk. Carlo

Much didst thou love me, and thou hadst good cause; for had I stayed below I had shown thee a further growth of love than the mere leaves.

That left bank which is bathed by Rhone after it hath mingled with Sorgue, me for its timely lord awaited; Provence

so did that corner of Ausonia, down from where Tronto and Verde discharge into the sea, citied by Bari, Gaeta and Catona. Apulia

Upon my brow already glowed the crown of the land the Danube watereth after it hath left its German banks; Hungary

and fair Trinacria which darkeneth between Pachynus and Pelorus, o'er the gulf tormented most by Eurus, Sicily

(not for Typhœus, but for sulphur that ariseth there) would yet have looked to have its kings, sprung through me from Charles and Rudolf,

had not ill lordship, which doth ever cut the heart of subject peoples, moved Palermo to shriek out: *Die! die!*

And had my brother seen it in good time, he would already flee the greedy poverty of Catalonia, lest it should work him ill; Robert of Sicily

and of a truth provision must needs be made by him or by another, lest on his barque already laden heavier load be laid.

Venere La sua natura, che di larga parca
discese, avria mestier di tal milizia
che non curasse di mettere in arca."
" Però ch' io credo che l' alta letizia
che il tuo parlar m' infonde, signor mio,
là 've ogni ben si termina e s' inizia,
per te si veggia, come la vegg' io,
grata m' è più, e anco questo ho caro,
perchè il discerni rimirando in Dio.
Fatto m' hai lieto, e così mi fa chiaro,
poichè, parlando, a dubitar m' hai mosso,
come uscir può di dolce seme amaro."
Questo io a lui; ed egli a me: " S' io posso
mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu domandi
terrai il viso come tieni il dosso.
Lo ben che tutto il regno che tu scandi
volge e contenta, fa esser virtute
sua provvidenza in questi corpi grandi;
e non pur le nature provvedute
son nella mente ch' è da sè perfetta,
ma esse insieme con la lor salute.
Per che quantunque questo arco saetta
disposto cade a provveduto fine,
sì come cosa in suo segno diretta.
Se ciò non fosse, il ciel che tu cammine
produrrebbe sì li suoi effetti,
che non sarebbero arti, ma ruine;
e ciò esser non può, se gl' intelletti
che movon queste stelle non son manchi,
e manco il primo che non gli ha perfetti.
Vuoi tu che questo ver più tis' imbianchi?"
Ed io: " Non già, perchè impossibil veggio
che la natura, in quel ch' è uopo, stanchi."

His nature,—mean descendant from a generous forebear,—had need of soldiery who should not give their care to storing riches in the chest." The amorous

" Sire, in that I believe the lofty joy which thy discourse poureth into me, there where every good hath end and hath beginning Dante

is seen by thee even as I see it, 'tis more grateful to me ; and this too I hold dear, that thou discernest it looking on God.

Thou hast rejoiced me, now enlighten me ; for in speaking thou hast moved me to question how from sweet seed may come forth bitter."

Thus I to him ; and he to me : " If I can show a certain truth to thee, thou wilt get before thine eyes the thing thou askest just as thou hast it now behind thy back. Carlo

The Good which doth revolve and satisfy the whole realm thou art climbing, maketh its providence become a virtuous power in these great bodies ;

and not only is provision made for the diverse-natured creatures, by the mind that is perfection in itself, but for their weal too, co-related with them.

Wherefore whate'er this bow dischargeth doth alight disposed to a provided end, even as a thing directed to its mark.

Were this not so, the heaven thou art traversing would so bring its effects to being, that they would be not works of art, but ruins ;

and this may not be, if the intellects which move these stars be not defective, and defective, too, that primal one which failed to perfect them.

Wouldst thou that this truth be more illuminated?" And I : " Not so, for I see 'tis impossible that nature, in what is needful, should fall short."

Venere Ond' egli ancora : " Or di', sarebbe il peggio
per l' uomo in terra se non fosse cive ? "
" Sì," rispos' io, " e qui ragion non cheggio."
" E può egli esser, se giù non si vive
diversamente per diversi offici ?
No, se il maestro vostro ben vi scrive."
Sì venne deducendo insino a quici ;
poscia conchiuse : " Dunque esser diverse
convien dei vostri effetti le radici :
per che un nasce Solone, ed altro Serse,
altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello
che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.
La circular natura, ch' è suggello
alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,
ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello.
Quinci addivien ch' Esaù si diparte
per seme da Iacob, e vien Quirino
da sì vil padre che si rende a Marte.
Natura generata il suo cammino
simil farebbe sempre ai generanti,
se non vincesse il provveder divino.
Or quel che t' era retro t' è davanti ;
ma perchè sappi che di te mi giova,
un corollario voglio che t' ammanti.
Sempre natura, se fortuna trova
discorde a sè, come ogni altra semente
fuor di sua region, fa mala prova.
E se il mondo laggiù ponesse mente
al fondamento che natura pone,
seguendo lui, avria buona la gente.
Ma voi torcete alla religione
tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,
e fate re di tal ch' è da sermone ;
onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada."

Whence he again: "Now, say, would it be worse for man on earth were he no citizen?" "Yea," I replied, "and here I ask no reason." The amorous

"And may that be, except men live below diversely and with diverse offices? No, if your master write the truth for you."

Up to this point he came deduction-wise; then the conclusion: "Therefore must needs the roots of your effects be diverse;

wherefore is one born Solon and one Xerxes, one Melchizedek, and one the man who, soaring through the welkin, lost his son. Heredity and influence of the Heavens

That which in circling hath its nature, and is the seal upon the mortal wax, plieth aright its art, but maketh not distinction between one or other tenement.

Wherefore it cometh that Esau severeth himself in seed from Jacob, and Quirinus cometh of so base father that he is assigned to Mars.

The begotten nature would ever take a course like its begetters, did not divine provision overrule.

Now that which was behind thee is before; but that thou mayst know that I delight in thee, I will have a corollary wrap thee round.

Ever doth nature, if she find fortune inharmonious with herself, like any other seed out of its proper region, make an ill essay. Capacity and office

And if the world down there took heed to the foundation nature layeth, and followed it, it would have satisfaction in its folk.

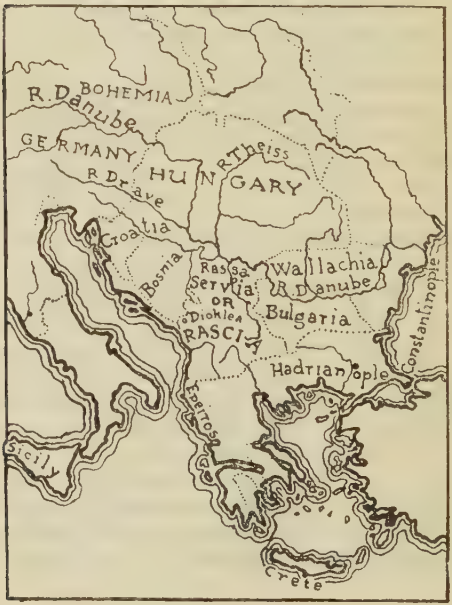
But ye wrench to a religious order him born to gird the sword, and make a king of him who should be for discourse; wherefore your track runneth outside the road."

1-9. See iv. 61-63 and *note*; and also "Dante's Paradise" at the end of this volume.

22, 23. Visible and invisible blasts=lightning and wind. "And it also appears that lightnings are winds kindled or enflamed by the swiftness of their motion." And again, "Because a hot exhalation, when it mounts up, strikes a cold and moist region, and it comes to pass that it is cast earthwards and chilled with a certain coldness, and a downward direction is given to it."—Averroes.

34-39. When Dante wrote the ode here referred to (see *Conv.* ii., *Canzone*) he believed, with Brunetto Latini, that the angels who presided over the Heaven of Venus belonged to the order of *Thrones*. See *Conv.* ii. 6: 109. He afterwards followed "Dionysius" in assigning

HUNGARY, RASCIA, ETC.



To Cantos VIII. and XIX.

them to the order of *Principalities*. See xxviii. 125. "Princes" in line 34 may be equivalent to "Principalities" and so imply the correction, but since both terms are generic (see *Conv.* ii. 6 : 40) this need not be so. In ix. 61, still in the planet Venus, there is a reference to *Thrones* so specific that one would take it to indicate Dante's continued belief in the special connection between *Thrones* and the planet Venus, were it not that in v. 115, in the planet Mercury, there is a similar specific reference to *Thrones*. The apparent confusion is not easy to remove. For a suggested solution see xxviii. 103–5, *note*.

42. When she shewed herself complaisant, and they were assured of it.

49–84. On Charles Martel, see ix. 1–6, *note*. See also maps on pp. 88 and 89, and on the opposite page.

52–54. The illustration of a silk-worm in its cocoon corresponds closely to representations, in early Italian art, of souls surrounded by a yellow glory.

63. From this, together with *Purg.* iii. 131, it has been inferred that the R. Garigliano was formerly known as the Verde.

85–90. The distinction is subtle but real. 'I rejoice that you see it (which you do, in God), and I rejoice that it is in God (and not otherwise) that you see it.'

97–99. Compare ii. 112 *sqq. note*.

103–105. Compare i. 119 and xxix. 24.

120. Aristotle. See Wallace, 68–70.

124, 125. Lawgiver, soldier, priest. Melchizedek is the priest *par excellence*, because he offered "bread and wine." See *Gen.* xiv. 18.

126. Dædalus, the typical mechanician. *Inf.* xvii. 109.

127. The heavens.

To Canto IX.

PARADISO

CHARLES, after a note of warning, turns again to God, whom we so impiously neglect (1-12). Cunizza approaches; she describes the site of Romano whence she and the tyrant Ezzelin, her brother, sprang. She tells how her past sins no longer trouble her (13-36). She speaks of the fair fame on earth of the troubadour Folco, and laments that no such fame is now sought by her countrymen of Venetia; whose woes she predicts and whose crimes she denounces; and then seeming no longer to heed Dante drops again into her place in the cosmic dance (37-66). Folco now flashes brighter in Dante's sight, and at his entreaty diverts his voice from its place in the universal song (which, like the universal dance, takes its note from the Seraphim) to minister to his special need (67-81). He indicates his birth-place of Marseilles (82-93). He tells of his amorous youth (94-102),

Venere Da poi che Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza,
m' ebbe chiarito, mi narrò gl' inganni
che ricever dovea la sua semenza;
ma disse: "Taci, e lascia volger gli anni"; 4
sì ch' io non posso dir, se non che pianto
giusto verrà di retro ai vostri danni.
E già la vita di quel lume santo 7
rivolta s' era al sol che la riempie,
come quel ben ch' ad ogni cosa è tanto.
Ahi, anime ingannate, e fatture empie, 10
che da sì fatto ben torcete i cori,
drizzando in vanità le vostre tempie!
Ed ecco un altro di quelli splendori 13
ver me si fece, e il suo voler piacermi
significava nel chiarir di fuori.

but shows how in heaven there is no repentance, because the sin is only seen or remembered as the occasion of the act of God by which the fallen one was uplifted again into his true element: and it is on this divine power and grace that the soul's whole thought and love are centred (103-108). He points out to Dante the light of Rahab, speaks of this heaven as just within the range of the cone of the earth's shadow, thereby indicating that the place of these souls in heaven is, in part, determined by the earthly sin that is now no longer in their minds; refers to Rahab's help given to Joshua in conquering the Holy Land, and denounces the Pope for his indifference to its recovery (109-126). It is devil-planted Florence that corrupts the world, both shepherd and flock, by her *florins* (127-138). But vengeance shall not lag (139-142).

The amorous. Clemence

When thy Charles, fair Clemence, had enlightened me, he told me of the frauds his seed was destined to encounter;

but added: "Hold thy peace, and let the years revolve"; so that I can say naught, save that wailing well-deserved shall follow your wrongs.

And already the life of that sacred light had turned to the sun that filleth it, as to the good ample for all things.

Ah! souls deceived, ah! creatures impious, who from such good wry-twist your hearts, inclining your minds unto vanity!

And lo, another of those splendours drew him towards me, and signified his will to pleasure me, by brightening outwardly.

Venere Gli occhi di Beatrice, ch' eran fermi
sopra me, come pria, di caro assenso
al mio disio certificato fermi.
" Deh metti al mio voler tosto compenso,
beato spirto," dissi, "e fammi prova
ch' io possa in te rifletter quel ch' io penso."
Onde la luce che m' era ancor nuova,
del suo profondo, ond' ella pria cantava,
seguette, come a cui di ben far giova :
" In quella parte della terra prava
Italica, che siede tra Rialto
e le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
si leva un colle, e non surge molt' alto,
là donde scese già una facella,
che fece alla contrada un grande assalto.
D' una radice nacqui ed io ed ella ;
Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui refulgo,
perchè mi vinse il lume d' esta stella.
Ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo
la cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia,
che parria forse forte al vostro vulgo.
Di questa luculenta e cara gioia
del nostro cielo, che più m' è propinqua,
grande fama rimase, e, pria che moia,
questo centesim' anno ancor s' incinqua.
Vedi se far si dee l' uomo eccellente,
sì ch' altra vita la prima relinqua !
E ciò non pensa la turba presente,
che Tagliamento ed Adice richiude,
nè per esser battuta ancor si pente.
Ma tosto fia che Padova al palude
cangerà l' acqua che Vicenza bagna,
per esser al dover le genti crude.

Beatrice's eyes, fixed on me as before, of dear assent to my desire assured me. The amorous

"Nay! give swift satisfaction unto my will," I said, "thou blessed spirit, and give proof that I can cast reflection upon thee of what I think."

Whereat the light which was yet new to me, from out its depth, wherein it first was singing, went on as one rejoicing to do well:

"In that region of the depraved Italian land which sitteth 'twixt Rialto and the springs of Brenta and Piave, Cunizza

riseth a hill, lifted to no great height, whence erst came down a firebrand that made a dire assault upon the country.

Out of one root spring I with it; Cunizza was I called, and here I glow because the light of this star overcame me. Ezzelino of Romano

But joyously I grant myself indulgence for the reason of my lot, nor doth it grieve me, which would seem, mayhap, hard saying to your common herd.

Of this shining and dear gem of our heaven, which most doth neighbour me, great fame remaineth, and ere it shall perish Folco

this centenary year shall be five times repeated. See if a man should make himself excel, so that another life should follow the first!

And of this thinketh not the present crowd that Tagliamento and Adige enclose; the which, though smitten, yet repenteth not.

But soon shall come to pass that Padua at the pool shall change the water that doth bathe Vicenza, because the folk are stubborn against duty.

Venere E dove Sile e Cagnan s' accompagna,
tal signoreggia e va con la testa alta,
che già per lui carpir si fa la ragna.
Piangerà Feltro ancora la diffalta
dell' empio suo pastor, che sarà sconcia
sì che per simil non s' entrò in Malta.
Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia
che ricevesse il sangue Ferrarese,
e stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia,
che donerà questo prete cortese,
per mostrarsi di parte ; e cotai doni
conformi fieno al viver del paese.
Su sono specchi, voi dicete Troni,
onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni."
Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembiante
che fosse ad altro volta, per la rota
in che si mise, com' era davante.
L' altra letizia, che m' era già nota
preclara cosa, mi si fece in vista
qual fin balascio in che lo sol percota.
Per letiziar lassù folgor s' acquista,
sì come riso qui ; ma giù s' abbuia
l' ombra di fuor, come la mente è trista.
" Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s' inluia,"
diss' io, " beato spirto, sì che nulla
voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia.
Dunque la voce tua, che il ciel trastulla
sempre, col canto di quei fochi pii
che di sei ali fannosi cuculla,
perchè non satisface ai miei disii ?
Già non attenderei io tua domanda,
s' io m' intuassi, come tu t' immii."

And where Sile meets Cagnano, one holdeth sway and goeth with uplifted head to catch him for whom now the net is being woven. The amorous

A wail shall yet arise from Feltro for the trespass of its impious pastor, which shall be so foul that for the like none ever entered Malta. Richard and Alexander

Too ample were the charger which should receive Ferrara's blood, and weary him who should weigh it ounce by ounce,

which this obliging priest shall give to prove himself a partisan; and such-like gifts shall suit the country's way of life.

Aloft are mirrors,—ye name them Thrones,—whence God in judgment shineth upon us so that these words approve themselves to us."

Here she was silent, and to me her semblance was of one who turneth him to other heeding, judging as by the wheel whereto she gave herself, like as she was before.

The other joy, noted already to me as a thing illustrious, shone in my sight like a fine ruby that the sun should strike. Folco

By joy up there brightness is won, just as a smile on earth; but down below darkeneth the shade externally as the mind saddeneth.

"God seeth all, and into him thy seeing sinketh," said I, "blessed spirit, so that no wish may steal itself from thee. Dante

Then wherefore doth thy voice, which gladdeneth Heaven ceaselessly,—together with the singing of those Flames devout, which make themselves a cowl with the six wings,—

not satisfy my longings? Not till now had I awaited thy demand, were I in thee even as thou art in me."

Venere " La maggior valle in che l' acqua si spanda,"
incominciaro allor le sue parole,
" fuor di quel mar che la terra inghirlanda,
tra i discordanti liti, contra il sole
tanto sen va che fa meridiano
là dove l' orizzonte pria far suole.
Di quella valle fu' io littorano
tra Ebro e Macra, che, per cammin corto,
lo Genovese parte dal Toscano.
Ad un occaso quasi e ad un orto
Buggea siede e la terra ond' io fui,
che fe' del sangue suo già caldo il porto.
Folco mi disse quella gente, a cui
fu noto il nome mio, e questo cielo
di me s' imprenta, com' io fei di lui ;
chè più non arse la figlia di Belo,
noiando ed a Sicheo ed a Creusa,
di me, in fin che si convenne al pelo ;
nè quella Rodopeia, che delusa
fu da Demofoonte, nè Alcide
quando Iole nel cor ebbe richiusa.
Non però qui si pente, ma si ride,
non della colpa, ch' a mente non torna,
ma del valor ch' ordinò e provide.
Qui si rimira nell' arte che adorna
cotanto effetto, e discernesi il bene
per che al mondo di su quel di giù torna.
Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene
ten porti, che son nate in questa spera,
procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.
Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera,
che qui appresso me così scintilla,
come raggio di sole in acqua mera.

" The greatest valley in which water stretcheth," then began his words, " forth from that sea which garlandeth the earth, The amorous

betwixt opposing shores, against the sun, goeth so far that it meridian maketh of what was first horizon.

Of this valley was I a shoresman, midway 'twixt the Ebro and the Macra, which, with short course, parteth the Genoese and Tuscan. Marseilles

Almost alike for sunset and for sunrise were the site of Bougiah and of the place I spring from, which with its blood once made the harbour warm.

Folco they called me, to whom my name was known, and this heaven is stamped by me, as I was stamped by it;

for Belus' daughter, wronging alike Sichæus and Creüsa, did not more burn than I, so long as it consorted with my youthful locks;

nor yet the Rhodopeian maid who was deluded by Demophoön, neither Alcides when he had shut Iole in his heart.

Yet here we repent not, but smile; not at the sin, which cometh not again to mind, but at the Worth that ordered and provided. No repentance in Heaven

Here gaze we on the Art that beautifieth its so great effect, and here discern the Good which bringeth back the world below unto the world above.

But that thou mayst bear away full satisfied all the desires born within this sphere, needs must I yet proceed.

Thou wouldst know who is within that light which here by me so sparkleth as the sun's ray in pure water.

Venere Or sappi che là entro si tranquilla
Raab, ed a nostr' ordine congiunta,
di lei nel sommo grado si sigilla.
Da questo cielo, in cui l' ombra s' appunta
che il vostro mondo face, pria ch' altr' alma
del trionfo di Cristo fu assunta.
Ben si convenne lei lasciar per palma
in alcun cielo dell' alta vittoria,
che s' acquistò con l' una e l' altra palma ;
perch' ella favorò la prima gloria
di Iosuè in su la Terrasanta,
che poco tocca al papa la memoria.
La tua città, che di colui è pianta
che pria volse le spalle al suo Fattore,
e di cui è la invidia tanto pianta,
produce e spande il maledetto fiore
ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,
però che fatto ha lupo del pastore.
Per questo l' Evangelio e i dottor magni
son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.
A questo intende il papa e i cardinali :
non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzarette,
là dove Gabriello aperse l' ali.
Ma Vaticano e l' altre parti elette
di Roma, che son state cimiterio
alla milizia che Pietro seguette,
tosto libere fien dell' adulterio."

1-6. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, conquered Naples and Sicily from Manfred, son of Frederick II., and became Charles I. Towards the end of his life his misgovernment of Sicily caused the massacre known as the "Sicilian Vespers" (A.D. 1282) and the loss of

Now know that there within hath Rahab peace; and when she joined our order, it stamped itself with her in the highest grade. The amorous. Rahab

By this heaven,—touched by the shadow's point which your world casteth,—ere other soul was she uptaken from Christ's triumph.

And soothly it beseemed to leave her as a trophy, in some heaven, of the lofty victory which was achieved with the one and the other palm;

because she favoured Joshua's first glory in the Holy Land, which little toucheth the Papal memory.

Thy city,—of his planting who first turned his back on his Maker, and from whose envy hath such wailing sprung,— Florence

maketh and spreadeth that accursed flower which hath set sheep and lambs astray, for it hath turned the shepherd to a wolf.

Therefore the Gospel and great Doctors are deserted, and only the Decretals are so studied, as may be seen upon their margins.

Thereon the Pope and Cardinals are intent; nor wend their thoughts to Nazareth, where Gabriel spread his wings.

But Vatican, and the other parts elect of Rome, the cemetery of the soldiery that followed Peter, shall soon be freed from the adultery."

Sicily (viii. 73-75). Villani, vii. 61. His son Charles II. (see vi. 106-108 and *note*. Dante nowhere else allows him the generosity ascribed to him in viii. 82) was the father of a numerous family, including Dante's friend, Charles Martel, who died before his father (1295);

and Robert. Charles married Clemence, daughter of the Emperor Rudolph; hence the allusion in viii. 72. He visited Florence in the last year of his life, and it was probably then that Dante formed his acquaintance. On his death his son, Caroberto, became heir to the throne of Naples; but his uncle Robert (known as Robert the Wise), supported by Charles II.'s will, ousted him from the succession. This was in 1309. At the date of the vision, therefore, Robert could not yet have been abusing his powers as king; but according to Charles (viii. 76), he was already preparing to do so by cultivating the Spanish friendships he had formed when a hostage in Spain, and so laying the train for oppression of the much enduring Apulia by the instrumentality of Spanish favourites. As to the Clemence of line 1 there has been much discussion. It would be natural to suppose that she is Charles's wife. It was her son Caroberto that Robert of Naples had excluded from the succession to Naples and Provence; and to her and her son, therefore, the "vostri danni" of line 6 would naturally apply. But the date of her death is given in recent commentaries as 1301, long before the time at which these words were written; and evidence has now been produced to show that she really died in 1295, as indeed several of the early commentators declare; and in that case she had been dead some years before the assumed date of the vision, 1300. This would make the direct address to her in line 1 difficult, and the implied communication in lines 2-6 wellnigh impossible. And yet the only alternative seems still more difficult to accept, namely, that the Clemence addressed was Charles's daughter who married Louis X., *le Hutin* (*cf.* Villani, ix. 66), and was living in 1328. This Clemence was in no special way wronged by the proceedings of Robert, nor is it easily conceivable that Dante in speaking of a father to a daughter would call him "thy Charles." The reader must take his choice between these two impossibilities. As to the woes that are said to be approaching, we note that since no conspicuous disaster had overtaken Robert, Dante has to fall back upon general forebodings of evil.

20, 21. By answering before I ask.

29, 30. The hideous tyrant Ezzelino da Romano

(compare *Inf.* xii. 109, 110); whose mother dreamed she gave birth to a firebrand that consumed the whole district.

33-36. Her amours with Sordello were specially notorious. In 1265 (when she was about 67 years old) she executed a deed of manumission, conferring formal freedom on a number of slaves (who probably had already secured the reality) in the house of Dante's friends the Cavalcanti. It is therefore possible that Dante was in possession of private sources of information as to penitence in closing years, an edifying end, grateful dependents who prayed for the departed soul, etc. No such knowledge, however, except that she had a certain reputation for humanity, has reached the world at large, and the scandalised protest which Dante anticipated and defied has not failed to make itself heard!

46-48. A much-discussed passage, which probably refers to the defeats inflicted on the Paduans at Vicenza by Can Grande of Verona (see Villani, ix. 63) in and about 1314. 'Paduan blood shall dye the Bacchiglione red because of Paduan resistance to the Empire.'

49-51. Riccardo da Cammino, Lord of Trevīso. He was murdered in 1312. He was the son of the "Good Gherard" (*Purg.* xvi. 124-140, *Conv.* iv. 14: 111-130), and the husband of Judge Nino's daughter Giovanna (*Purg.* viii. 71).

53. Alessandro Novello, Bishop of Feltre, 1298-1320. In 1314 he surrendered certain Ghibelline refugees from Ferrara to Pino della Tosa, King Robert's vicar there, who executed them.

54. A papal prison on lake Bolsēna, or perhaps in Viterbo.

61. Compare viii. 34-39, xxviii. 103-105, *notes*. "For they are called *Thrones* by whom God doth exercise his judgments."—Gregory, quoted by Aquinas.

66. Compare viii. 25-27.

76-78. Compare viii. 25-27. *Argument*. Compare *Isaiah* vi. 2.

85-93. At Gibraltar, where the Mediterranean flows out of the ocean, the sun (according to Dante's geography) is on the horizon when it is noon-day on the Levant. Thus the stretch of the sea makes zenith at

its end of what is horizon at its beginning; *i.e.* it extends over a quadrant. See map on p. 101.

93. When Cæsar's fleet won a victory over the Pompeians in 49 B.C. *Cf. Purg.* xviii. 102.

94. Folco of Marseilles was a Troubadour (fl. 1180-1195), and afterwards a Cistercian monk. As bishop of Toulouse (1205-1231) he took a leading part in the infamous Albigensian Crusades.

97. Dido, whose love for Æneas wronged the memory of her husband Sichæus and of his wife Crëüsa.

100, 101. Phyllis, beloved of Demophoön the son of Theseus and Phædra, was the daughter of the Thracian king Sithon, and hence is called Rhodopeian, after the mountain Rhodŏpe in Thrace. According to Ovid, Demophoön ultimately returned to keep his plighted faith, but Phyllis had already slain herself in despair at his protracted absence.

102. Iöle was the last love of Hercules (Alcides). On hearing of this attachment, Dejanira, the wife of Hercules, sent him the fatal shirt of Nessus, thus causing his death. Nessus the Centaur had offered an insult to Dejanira as he was bearing her across a stream, and Hercules shot him. As he expired he told Dejanira that the garment, steeped in his blood, would have the power of winning back the affections of Hercules if ever they wandered from her. It is this vengeance of the Centaur which is referred to by Dante in *Inf.* xii. 67-69.

126. Rebukes the slackness of the Pope in face of the capture of Acre by the Saracens in 1291, after which the Christians had no foothold in the Holy Land. *Cf.* Villani, vii. 145.

134-135. Compare *Parad.* xii. 83. There was money to be got out of studying Ecclesiastical Law. Compare *Conv.* i. 9: 18-25, etc.

R. Tagliamento
R. Piave
R. Sile
VENEZIA
TREVISO
R. Brenta
R. Bacchiglione
R. Adige
R. Po
FELTRO
ROMANO
PADOVA
VICENZA
FERRARA
R. Piave Vella
R. Sile
R. Pecorile
R. Botteniga or Cagnano

PARADISO

GOD as self-existent contemplating himself as manifested, in that love which in either aspect he breathes forth, made all objects of intelligence or sense with that order which speaks of him to all beholders (1-6). Let the reader, then, look upon the equinoctial point, which so clearly displays that art of God which he himself ever contemplates, in love (7-12). Let him reflect how the influences of the sun and planets—the seasons and other alternations—would be effective over a smaller part of the earth if the inclination of the ecliptic were less, and would be too violent in their contrasts if it were greater (13-21). If the reader will not give himself time to work out these and other such hints, weary listlessness instead of enjoyment will be the fruit of his study, for the author cannot pause to elaborate them for him (22-27). The sun is in the spring equinoctial point and Dante is with him (28-39). Standing out against the sun by their very brightness are spirits rejoicing in the vision of the relation of the Father to the Son and

Sole Guardando nel suo figlio con l' amore
che l' uno e l' altro eternalmente spira,
lo primo ed ineffabile valore
quanto per mente o per loco si gira
con tanto ordine fe', ch' esser non puote
senza gustar di lui chi ciò rimira.
Leva dunque, lettor, all' alte rote
meco la vista dritto a quella parte
dove l' un moto e l' altro si percote ;
e lì comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte
di quel maestro, che dentro a sè l' ama
tanto che mai da lei l' occhio non parte.

CANTO X

to the Holy Spirit (40-51). Beatrice calls on Dante to thank the sun of the angels; and he thereon so concentrates his thoughts on God as to forget Beatrice (52-60); in pleasure whereat she smiles so beauteously as to shatter the undivided unity of his mind; which thus broken up distributes itself amongst the wondrous objects that claim it (61-63). Twelve spirits surround Dante and Beatrice, as with a crown, and thrice circle them, uttering music that may not be conceived on earth (64-78); then pause, while one of them, Thomas Aquinas, declares that since the divine grace has kindled in Dante such true love as must ever increase itself by the mere act of loving, and has revealed to him that heavenly bliss to which he who has once known it must ever return, it follows that every blessed soul must freely love to do him pleasure (79-90); whereon he tells him who are the other flames (91-138); whereon the wheel of lights again begins to revolve with ineffable music (139-148).

Gazing upon his Son with the Love which the one and the other eternally breathes forth, the primal and ineffable Worth, The prudent

made whatsoever circleth through mind or space with so great regularity that whoso looketh on it may not be without some taste of him. Creation

Then, reader, raise with me thy sight to the exalted wheels, directed to that part where the one movement crosseth the other;

and amorously there begin to gaze upon that Master's art, who within himself so loveth it, that never doth he part his eye from it.

Sole Vedi come da indi si dirama 13
l' obbliquo cerchio che i pianeti porta,
per satisfare al mondo che li chiama ;
e se la strada lor non fosse torta, 16
molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,
e quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta :
e se da dritto più o men lontano 19
fosse il partire, assai sarebbe manco
e giù e su dell' ordine mondano.
Or ti riman, lettor, sopra il tuo banco, 22
retro pensando a ciò che si preliba,
s' esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.
Messo t' ho innanzi : omai per te ti ciba ; 25
chè a sè torce tutta la mia cura
quella materia ond' io son fatto scriba.
Lo ministro maggior della natura, 28
che del valor del cielo il mondo imprenta
e col suo lume il tempo ne misura,
con quella parte che su si rammenta 31
congiunto, si girava per le spire
in che più tosto ognora s' appresenta.
Ed io era con lui ; ma del salire 34
non m' accors' io, se non com' uom s' accorge,
anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.
È Beatrice quella che sì scorge 37
di bene in meglio, sì subitamente
che l' atto suo per tempo non si sporge.
Quant' esser convenia da sè lucente 40
quel ch' era dentro al sol dov' io entra' mi,
non per color, ma per lume parvente !
Perch' io lo ingegno, l' arte e l' uso chiami, 43
sì nol direi che mai s' imaginasse,
ma creder puossi, e di veder si brami.

See how thence off-brancheth the oblique circle that beareth the planets, to satisfy the world that calleth on them ; The prudent

and were their pathway not inclined, much virtue in the heaven were in vain, and dead were almost every potency on earth ;

and if, from the straight course, or more or less remote were the departure, much were lacking to the cosmic order below and eke above. The ecliptic

Now stay thee, reader, on thy bench, back thinking on this foretaste, wouldst thou have good joyance ere that thou be weary.

I have set before thee ; now feed thou thyself, for that matter whereof I have made me scribe, now wresteth to itself my total care.

The greatest minister of Nature, who with the worth of heaven stampeth the world, and with his light measureth the time for us, Sun in equinox

united with that part now called to mind, was circling on the spirals whereon he doth present him ever earlier.

And I was with him ; but of my ascent I was no more aware than is a man, ere his first thought, aware that it is coming.

'Tis Beatrice who leadeth thus from good to better, so instantly that her act doth not occupy time.

How shining in itself must that needs be which in the sun, whereinto I had entered, itself revealeth not by hue, but light !

Though I should summon genius, art, tradition, ne'er could I so express it as to make it imaged ; but it may be believed—and let men long to see it.

Sole E se le fantasie nostre son basse
a tanta altezza, non è maraviglia,
chè sopra il sol non fu occhio ch' andasse.

Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia
dell' alto padre che sempre la sazia,
mostrando come spira e come figlia.

E Beatrice cominciò : " Ringrazia,
ringrazia il sol degli angeli, ch' a questo
sensibil t' ha levato per sua grazia."

Cor di mortal non fu mai sì digesto
a divozione ed a rendersi a Dio
con tutto il suo gradir cotanto presto,

com' a quelle parole mi fec' io ;
e sì tutto il mio amore in lui si mise,
che Beatrice eclissò nell' obblio.

Non le dispiacque ; ma sì se ne rise,
che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
mia mente unita in più cose divise.

Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti
far di noi centro e di sè far corona,
più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.

Così cinger la figlia di Latona
vedem talvolta, quando l' aere è pregno
sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona.

Nella corte del ciel, ond' io rivegno,
si trovan molte gioie care e belle
tanto che non si posson trar del regno,

e il canto di quei lumi era di quelle ;
chi non s' impenna sì che lassù voli,
dal muto aspetti quindi le novelle.

Poi, sì cantando, quegli ardenti soli
si fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,
come stelle vicine ai fermi poli,

The prudent

And if our fantasies are low for such an exaltation, it is no marvel, for never was there eye that could transcend the sun.

Doctors and Sages

Such, there, was the fourth household of the exalted Father who ever satisfieth it, showing how he doth breathe, and how beget.

And Beatrice began : " Give thanks, give thanks to the sun of the Angels, who of his grace hath to this sun of sense exalted thee."

Never was heart of mortal so disposed unto devotion, and so keen to give itself to God with all its will,

as at those words was I ; and so wholly was my love committed unto him, it eclipsed Beatrice in oblivion.

Her it displeased not ; but she so smiled thereat, the splendour of her laughing eyes parted my erst united mind amongst things multiform.

Then saw I many a glow, living and conquering, make of us a centre, and of themselves a crown ; sweeter in voice than shining in appearance.

Halo

Thus girt we sometimes see Latona's daughter, when the air is so impregnated as to retain the thread that makes her zone.

In the court of heaven, whence I have returned, are many gems so dear and beauteous that from that realm they may not be withdrawn,

and the song of these lights was of such ; he who doth not so wing himself that he may fly up there, must look for news thence from the dumb.

When, so singing, those burning suns had circled round us thrice, like stars neighbouring the fixed poles,

Sole donne mi parver, non da ballo sciolte, 79
ma che s' arrestin tacite ascoltando
fin che le nuove note hanno ricolte.
E dentro all' un senti' cominciar: "Quando 82
lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende
verace amore, e che poi cresce amando
multiplicato, in te tanto risplende, 85
che ti conduce su per quella scala,
u' senza risalir nessun discende,
qual ti negasse il vin della sua fiala 88
per la tua sete, in libertà non fora,
se non com' acqua ch' al mar non si cala.
Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora 91
questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia
la bella donna ch' al ciel t' avvalora.
Io fui degli agni della santa greggia, 94
che Domenico mena per cammino,
u' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.
Questi, che m' è a destra più vicino, 97
frate e maestro fummi, ed esso Alberto
fu di Colonia, ed io Thomas d' Aquino.
Se sì di tutti gli altri esser vuoi certo, 100
di retro al mio parlar ten vien col viso
girando su per lo beato serto.
Quell' altro fiammeggiare esce del riso 103
di Grazian, che l' uno e l' altro foro
aiutò sì che piace in Paradiso.
L' altro, ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro, 106
quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella
offerse a santa Chiesa suo tesoro.
La quinta luce, ch' è tra noi più bella, 109
spira di tale amor, che tutto il mondo
laggiù ne gola di saper novella:

they seemed as ladies, not from the dance released, but pausing, silent, listening till they catch the notes renewed. The prudent

And within one I heard begin: "Since the ray of grace,—whereat true love is kindled, and then doth grow, by loving, Thomas Aquinas

multifold—doth so glow in thee as to conduct thee up upon that stairway, which, save to reascend, no one descendeth,

whoso refused his vial's wine to quench thy thirst, were no more free than water that should not flow to the sea.

Thou wouldst know with what plants this garland is enflowered, which amorously doth circle round the beauteous lady who strengtheneth thee for heaven.

I was of the lambs of the sacred flock that Dominic leadeth upon the way where is good fattening if there be no straying.

This, who most neighboureth me upon the right, brother and master was to me, and he was Albert of Cologne, I Thomas of Aquino. Albertus Magnus

If in like manner thou wouldst be assured of all the rest, direct thy sight according to my words, circling above along the blessed wreath.

This next flaming issueth from the smile of Gratian, who gave such aid to the one and the other forum, as is acceptable in Paradise.

The other who doth next adorn our choir, was that Peter who, with the poor widow, offered his treasure unto Holy Church.

The fifth light, which amongst us is most fair, doth breathe from such a love that all the world down there thirsteth to know the news of it; Solomon

Sole entro v' è l' alta mente u' sì profondo
saper fu messo, che, se il vero è vero,
a veder tanto non surse il secondo.

Appresso vedi il lume di quel cero
che, giuso in carne, più addentro vide
l' angelica natura e il ministero.

Nell' altra piccioletta luce ride
quell' avvocato dei tempi cristiani,
del cui latino Augustin si provvide.

Or, se tu l' occhio della mente trani
di luce in luce, retro alle mie lode,
già dell' ottava con sete rimani.

Per vedere ogni ben dentro vi gode
l' anima santa, che il mondo fallace
fa manifesto a chi di lei ben ode.

Lo corpo ond' ella fu cacciata giace
giuso in Cieldauro, ed essa da martiro
e da esilio venne a questa pace.

Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l' ardente spiro
d' Isidoro, di Beda e di Riccardo
che a considerar fu più che viro.

Questi, onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo,
è il lume d' uno spirto, che in pensieri
gravi a morir gli parve venir tardo :

essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,
che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,
sillogizzò invidiosi veri."

Indi come orologio, che ne chiami
nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge
a mattinar lo sposo perchè l' ami,

che l' una parte l' altra tira ed urge,
tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,
che il ben disposto spirto d' amor turge ;

within there is the lofty mind, to which a wisdom so profound was granted, that, if the truth be true, no second ever rose to such full vision. The prudent

Next look upon that taper's light, which, in the flesh below, saw deepest into the angelic nature and its ministry. Dionysius

In the next little light laugheth that pleader for the Christian times, with whose discourse Augustine fortified him.

Now if thou drawest thy mind's eye from light to light, following my praises, already for the eighth thou art athirst.

In seeing every good therein rejoiceth the sainted soul, which unmasketh the deceitful world to whoso giveth it good hearing. Boëthius

The body whence it was chased forth, lieth down below in Cieldauro, and itself from martyrdom and exile came unto this peace.

See flaming next the glowing breath of Isidore, of Bede, and of Richard, who, in contemplating, was more than man.

The one from which thy glance returneth unto me, is the light of a spirit who, in weighty thoughts, him seemed went all too slowly to his death ;

it is the light eternal of Sigier who, lecturing in the *Vicus Straminis*, syllogised truths that brought him into hate."

Then as the horologe, that calleth us, what hour the spouse of God riseth to sing her matins to her spouse that he may love her, Matin Chimes of the Church

wherein one part drawing and thrusting other, giveth a chiming sound of so sweet note, that the well-ordered spirit with love swelleth ;

Sole così vid' io la gloriosa rota 145
moversi, e render voce a voce in tempra
ed in dolcezza ch' esser non può nota,
se non colà dove gioir s' insempra. 148

1-3. Note the special frequency of references to the Trinity in this and the next following Cantos. Also the emphasis laid, in line 2, on the procession of the Holy Ghost *from the Son* as well as from the Father. The *filioque* controversy was one of the chief sources of the alienation between the East and West, which, after widening for centuries, resulted at last in the great schism of 1054 by which the Greek and Latin Churches were severed.

7-9. At the first point of Aries and at the first point of Libra the Equator and the Zodiac cross on the heavenly sphere. The daily movement of the Sun (and all other heavenly bodies) is parallel to the Equator, and his annual movement is along the Zodiac ("the oblique circle that beareth the planets"), so that the daily and the annual movements smite one upon the other at these two points.

31-33. From mid-winter to mid-summer the Sun rises every day a little earlier and a little farther North than the day before, and from mid-summer to mid-winter a little later and a little farther South. Thus he always travels on a spiral, up or down. It is in the middle of his up-spiral that he encounters the Spring equinoctial point. This passage then indicates the *Spring equinox* with perfect precision.

97-99. Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) "christianised Aristotle," *i.e.* made Aristotle's works the philosophical basis of Christian doctrine, as well as the storehouse of profane learning, thus putting an end to the dislike of the Aristotelian learning which the elder theologians had felt when it was introduced in the twelfth century. From Thomas Aquinas (Doctor Angelicus), and especially his *Summa*, Dante drew much of his theological learning. Albertus Magnus (Doctor Universalis) taught in Cologne and Paris, and Thomas was his beloved pupil.

so did I see the glorious wheel revolve and render voice to voice in harmony and sweetness that may not be known except where joy maketh itself eternal. The prudent

104. Gratian (fl. c. 1150) brought ecclesiastical and civil law into relation with each other. His *Decretum* was the first systematic treatise on Canon Law.

106-108. Peter Lombard (c. 1100-1160) collected and discussed the pronouncements of the Christian Fathers in his four books of *Sentences*, dealing respectively with God, the Creation, the Redemption, and the Sacraments and Last Things. In the preface he compares himself to the poor widow of *Luke* xxi. 1-4. His work became the text-book of theological teaching, and Bonaventura, Aquinas, and others wrote commentaries on it.

109-114. Solomon. 1 *Kings* iii. 12. "There is a dispute amongst certain holy men and theologians whether he [Solomon] be damned or saved" (Petrus Alighieri).

113. As sure as Scripture.

115-117. Dionysius the Areopagite. See *Acts* xvii. 34. (Compare xxviii. 130, etc.). The works on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, etc., that went under his name are now supposed to date from the fifth or sixth century.

118-120. Probably Paulus Orosius (early fifth century), whose *Historia adversus Paganos* was an apologetic treatise written in connection with Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, to disarm the Pagan contention that Christianity had ruined the Roman Empire.

124-129. Boëthius (c. 475-525), whose penetrating influence on Dante is to be traced everywhere. *Cf. Conv.* ii. 13: 14-16, and many other passages. When in prison, in Pavia, condemned to death by Theodoric, he wrote the *Consolation of Philosophy*, a book of noble pagan morality and religion, maintaining that even in this world, and as judged by human reason, the life of the virtuous man is to be preferred before that of the vicious, and the ways of God to man may be justified. Thus he supplemented the exclusive reliance of Christian writers on the compensations of a future

life, and on revealed, as distinct from philosophical truth. The mediæval consciousness, uncritical as usual, but with a correct enough instinct, laid hold of this welcome supplement without perceiving its essentially pagan presentation, and so found room for Boëthius amongst the Christian teachers. The process was facilitated by the fact that Boëthius moved in Christian circles, had, in his youth, written certain theological tracts in defence of Christian orthodoxy against Eutychian and other heresies (dealing with the questions at issue from the philosophical point of view), and appears never to have separated himself from the Christian communion, though his spiritual life was fed entirely from Pagan sources. The authenticity of his theological treatises, though raised above all reasonable doubt, is still occasionally disputed.

Special prominence is given in the last book of the *Consolation of Philosophy* to the problem of the reconciliation of God's fore-knowledge with man's freewill. Boëthius treats it very fully and with great beauty. In substance the answer is that God's knowledge of the future no more determines it than does his knowledge of the past, and that indeed the distinction between fore-knowledge and after-knowledge does not apply to God at all, since he is not subject to the conditions of time. The distinction between *divine* and *human* knowledge absorbs the lesser distinction between *fore-* and *after-*knowledge, and if we are to inquire into the relations in question at all, it must be by trying to form some conception of the higher plane of the divine knowledge in general, not by tormenting ourselves as to the specific

implications of God's *fore*-knowledge. It is in this connection that Boëthius gives the definition of eternity that became classical: "Whatsoever, therefore, comprehendeth and possesseth the whole plenitude of unlimited life at once, to which nought of the future is wanting, and from which nought of the past hath flowed away, this may rightly be deemed eternal." *Cf.* xxii. 61-69, *Argument* and *note*, together with the other passages there referred to.

128. Cieldauro (Golden Ceiling) is a name of St Peter's church in Pavia.

131. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), the author of a great Cyclopædia. Bede, the Venerable (c. 673-735). Richard of St Victor († 1173) wrote a treatise entitled *De Contemplatione*. Compare *Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, 552-554 (§ 28). See further xii. 133, *note*.

136-138. Sigier of Brabant († probably about 1283), a professor in the University of Paris, where the *Rue du Fouarre* ran "close to the river, in the region which is still known as the *Quartier Latin*, and was the centre of the Arts Schools at Paris" (Toynbee). He took a leading part in the disputes between the mendicant orders and the University, and it is noteworthy that Thomas Aquinas himself was one of his chief opponents. He met his death (apparently by an assassin's dagger) at the Papal court at Orvieto, but exactly when does not appear.

140. *Spouse of God* = the Church.

PARADISO

CONTRAST between earth and heaven (1-12). Thomas, reading Dante's thoughts, renews his discourse in order to remove certain difficulties (13-27). Providence raised up Francis and Dominic to succour the Church (28-42). From Assisi Francis rose sun-like, even as the sun in which Doctor and Poet are now discoursing rises to mortals from Ganges or elsewhere according to the place of their abode (43-54). His

Sole O insensata cura dei mortali,
quanto son difettivi sillogismi
quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali !
Chi retro a iura, e chi ad aforismi
sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,
e chi regnar per forza o per sofismi,
e chi rubare, e chi civil negozio,
chi nel diletto della carne involto
s' affaticava, e chi si dava all' ozio ;
quando, da tutte queste cose sciolto,
con Beatrice m' era suso in cielo
cotanto gloriosamente accolto.
Poi che ciascuno fu tornato ne lo
punto del cerchio, in che avanti s' era,
fermossi come a candelier candelo.
Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera,
che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
incominciar, facendosi più mera :
" Così com' io del suo raggio risplendo,
sì, riguardando nella luce eterna,
li tuoi pensieri, onde cagioni, apprendo.
Tu dubbi, ed hai voler che si discerna
in sì aperta e in sì distesa lingua
lo dicer mio, ch' al tuo sentir si sterna,

marriage with poverty (55-75). The founding and confirming of his order (76-99). He preaches to the Soldan, receives the stigmata, and dies commending his bride to his disciples (100-117). If he was such, what must Dominic have been, seeing that he was worthy to be his colleague (118-123). But almost all his followers are degenerate (124-139).

Insensate care of mortals! Oh how false the arguments which make thee downward beat thy wings! The prudent

One was following after law, and one aphorisms, one was pursuing priesthood, and one dominion by violence or by quibbles,

and another plunder, and another civil business, and one, tangled in the pleasures of the flesh, was moiling, and one abandoned him to ease;

the while, from all these things released, with Beatrice up in heaven thus gloriously was I received. Earth and Heaven

When each had come again to that point of the circle whereat he was before, he stayed him, as the taper in its stand.

And within that light which first had spoken to me I perceived smiling begin, as it grew brighter:

"Even as I glow with its rays, so, gazing into the Eternal Light, I apprehend whence thou dost take occasion for thy thoughts. Thomas

Thou questionest and wouldst fain discern, in such open and extended discourse as may be level to thine understanding, my utterance

Sole ove dinanzi dissi : *u' ben s' impingua*, 25
e là u' dissi : *non surse il secondo ;*
e qui è uopo che ben si distingua.
La provvidenza, che governa il mondo 28
con quel consiglio nel quale ogni aspetto
creato è vinto pria che vada al fondo,
però che andasse ver lo suo diletto 31
la sposa di colui, ch' ad alte grida
disposò lei col sangue benedetto,
in sè sicura ed anco a lui più fida, 34
due principi ordinò in suo favore,
che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.
L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore, 37
l' altro per sapienza in terra fue
di cherubica luce uno splendore.
Dell' un dirò, però che d' ambedue 40
si dice l' un pregiando, qual ch' uom prende,
perchè ad un fine fur l' opere sue.
Intra Tupino e l' acqua che discende 43
del colle eletto del beato Ubaldo,
fertile costa d' alto monte pende,
onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo 46
da Porta Sole, e di retro le piange
per grave giogo Nocera con Gualdo.
Di questa costa, là dov' ella frange 49
più sua rattezza, nacque al mondo un sole,
come fa questo talvolta di Gange.
Però chi d' esso loco fa parole 52
non dica *Ascesi*, che direbbe corto,
ma *Oriente*, se proprio dir vuole.
Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto, 55
ch' ei cominciò a far sentir la terra
della sua gran virtute alcun conforto ;

wherein I said but now : *Where is good fattening*, and wherein I said : *No second ever rose ;* and here we need to make precise distinction. The prudent

The providence which governeth the world,— with counsel wherein every creature's gaze must stay, defeated, ere it reach the bottom,—

in order that the spouse of him, who with loud cries espoused her with the blessed blood, might go toward her delight,

secure within herself and faithfuller to him, two Princes did ordain on her behalf, who on this side and that should be for guides.

The one was all seraphic in his ardour, the other by his wisdom was on earth a splendour of cherubic light. Francis and Dominic

Of one will I discourse, because of both the two he speaketh who doth either praise, whichso he will ; for to one end were their works.

Between Tupino and the stream that drops from the hill chosen by the blessed Ubaldo, a fertile slope hangs from a lofty mount. Assisi

wherefrom Perugia feeleth cold and heat through Porta Sole, and behind it waileth Nocera, for the heavy yoke, and Gualdo.

From this slope, where most it breaks the steepness of decline, was born into the world a sun, even as ours doth at times rise from the Ganges. Francis

Wherefore who speaketh of that place, let him not say *Assisi*, 'twere to speak short, but *Orient*, would he name it right.

Not yet was he far distant from his rising when he began to make the earth to feel from his great power a certain strengthening ;

Sole chè per tal donna, giovinetto, in guerra 58
del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
la porta del piacer nessun disserra ;
ed innanzi alla sua spirital corte, 61
et coram patre le si fece unito ;
poscia di dì in dì l' amò più forte.
Questa, privata del primo marito, 64
mille e cent' anni e più dispetta e scura
fino a costui si stette senza invito.
Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura 67
con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce,
colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe' paura ;
nè valse esser costante nè feroce, 70
sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
ella con Cristo salse in sulla croce.
Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso, 73
Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti 76
amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
faceano esser cagion di pensier santi ;
tanto che il venerabile Bernardo 79
si scalzò prima, e retro a tanta pace
corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
O ignota ricchezza, o ben ferace ! 82
Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro,
retro allo sposo, sì la sposa piace.
Indi sen va quel padre e quel maestro 85
con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia
che già legava l' umile capestro ;
nè gli gravò viltà di cor le ciglia, 88
per esser fi' di Pietro Bernardone,
nè per parer dispetto a maraviglia.

for in his youth for such a lady did he rush into war against his father, to whom, as unto death, no one unbars the gate of his good pleasure ; The Prudent

and in the spiritual court that had rule over him, and in his father's presence he was united to her, and then from day to day loved her more strongly. My lady Poverty

She, reft of her first husband, a thousand and a hundred years and more, despised, obscure, even till he stood before her without invitation.

And naught availed her the report that she was found unterrified together with Amyclas, when sounded that man's voice, who struck all the world with terror ;

and naught availed her to have been so constant and undaunted, that she, when Mary stayed below, mounted the Cross with Christ.

But, lest I should proceed too covertly, Francis and Poverty as these two lovers do thou now accept in speech made plain. Francis and Poverty

Their harmony and joyous semblance made love and wonder and tender looks the cause of sacred thoughts ;

so that the venerable Bernard first cast off his sandals and ran to follow so great peace, and as he ran thought himself all too slow. The first disciples

Oh wealth unrecognised, oh fertile good ! Unsandals him Egidius, unsandals him Sylvester, following the spouse, so doth the bride delight.

Thence took his way, this father and this master, together with his lady, and with the household already binding on the humble cord ;

nor abjectness of heart weighed down his brow, that he was Pietro Bernardone's son, nor that he seemed so despised that it was a marvel.

Sole Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione 91
ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe
primo sigillo a sua religione.
Poi che la gente poverella crebbe 94
retro a costui, la cui mirabil vita
meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe,
di seconda corona redimita 97
fu per Onorio dall' eterno spiro
la santa voglia d' esto archimandrita.
E poi che, per la sete del martiro, 100
nella presenza del Soldan superba
predicò Cristo e gli altri che il seguiro,
e per trovare a conversione acerba 103
troppo la gente, per non stare indarno,
reddissi al frutto dell' italica erba,
nel crudo sasso, intra Tevero ed Arno, 106
da Cristo prese l' ultimo sigillo,
che le sue membra due anni portarno.
Quando a colui ch' a tanto ben sortillo 109
piacque di trarlo suso alla mercede,
ch' ei meritò nel suo farsi pusillo,
ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste rede, 112
raccomandò la sua donna più cara,
e comandò che l' amassero a fede ;
e del suo grembo l' anima preclara 115
mover si volle, tornando al suo regno,
ed al suo corpo non volle altra bara.
Pensa oramai qual fu colui, che degno 118
collega fu a mantener la barca
di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno !
E questi fu il nostro patriarca ; 121
per che qual segue lui, com' ei comanda,
discerner puoi che buone merce carca.

But royally his stern intent to Innocent revealed he, and from him had the first imprint upon his Order. The prudent

When the poor folk increased, after his track whose marvellous life were better sung in heaven's glory,

then was the holy will of this chief shepherd circled with a second crown by Honorius by the Eternal Spirit. The order founded and confirmed

And when, in thirst of martyrdom, in the proud presence of the Soldan, he preached Christ and his followers;

and because he found the folk too crude against conversion,—not to stay in vain,—returned to gather fruit from the Italian herbage;

then on the harsh rock between Tiber and Arno, from Christ did he receive that final imprint which his limbs two years carried. The stigmata

When it pleased Him who for such good ordained him, to draw him up to his reward which he had earned in making himself lowly,

to his brethren, as to his right heirs, his dearest lady he commended, and bade that they should love her faithfully;

and from her bosom the illustrious soul willed to depart, turning to its own realm, and for its body would have no other bier.

Think now what he was, who was a worthy colleague to maintain the barque of Peter in deep sea towards the right sign! Dominic

And such was our patriarch; wherefore who followeth him as he commandeth, thou must perceive, loadeth him with good wares.

Sole Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda
è fatto ghiotto sì ch' esser non puote
che per diversi salti non si spanda ;

e quanto le sue pecore remote
e vagabonde più da esso vanno,
più tornano all' ovil di latte vote.

Ben son di quelle che temono il danno,
e stringonsi al pastor ; ma son sì poche,
che le cappe fornisce poco panno.

Or, se le mie parole non son fioche,
se la tua audienza è stata attenta,
se ciò ch' ho detto alla mente rivoche,

in parte fia la tua voglia contenta,
perchè vedrai la pianta onde si scheggia,
e vedrai il coregger che argomenta,

U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia."

4. *Aphorisms.* The name of a celebrated work of Hippocrates (460-357 B.C.). Hence equivalent to *medicine.*

25, 26. See x. 96, 114.

27. Compare xiii. 115-116. To "distinguish" is a technical term of logic. It consists in showing that the inference is not correct though the premises are true, because there is a difference between the sense in which a word is used in the true premise and the sense in which alone it would justify the false conclusion. If an argument is refuted by denying one of the premises the process is called *interemption* = "destruction." Compare *De Monarchia,* iii. 4 : 39-44.

37-39. The Seraphs, in popular estimate, are symbolical of love, and the Cherubs of knowledge. Hence Francis (1182-1226), known as the Seraphic Father, and Dominic (1170-1221) are respectively akin to them. But see xxviii. 109-111, and *note.*

43. The Chiascio.

44. Ubaldo (bishop of Gubbio, † 1160) selected this

But his flock hath grown so greedy for new viands, it may not be but that through divers glades it strayeth ; The prudent

and the more his sheep distant and wandering depart from him, the emptier of milk they return foldwards.

There are of them, indeed, who fear the loss and cleave close to the shepherd, but they are so few that little cloth doth furnish forth their cowls. The Dominicans

Now if my words have not been faint, if thy listening hath been attent, if thou call back to mind what I have said,

in part thy will must now be satisfied, for thou shalt see the plant from which they whittle, and thou shalt see the rebuke that is intended in : *Where is good fattening if there be no straying.*"

hill for his hermitage, but (according to Scartazzini) was never able to carry out his intention of retiring to it. Hence the term *chosen*.

47. *Porta Sole*, the Eastern gate of Perugia.

48. They were under the Angevin dynasty so hated by Dante. Compare vi. 106, *note*, etc., etc. But others (with less probability) interpret *greve giogo* as referring to the barren eastern slope of Monte Subasio.

53. *Ascesi*, an old form of Assisi, may be translated "I have ascended." A play upon the word, in connection with *Oriente*, is found by some commentators. The comparison of Francis to the rising Sun is ancient and wide spread. "Glowing as the light-bearer and as the morning star, yea, even as the rising Sun, illuminating, cleansing and fertilising the world like some new luminary, was Francis seen to arise," says the Prologue of one of the earliest Lives.

58. He was about twenty-four when he began to woo Poverty.

58-117. In the early biographies of Francis (includ-

ing the *Fioretti* or popular stories of him) with which every reader of Dante should be familiar, we are told how he fell in love with Poverty; how his father indignantly sought to reclaim him; how he appealed to the Bishop, stripped himself naked before him, giving to his earthly father Pietro Bernardone that which was his, and dedicating himself to his heavenly father, and thus publicly espousing Poverty; how Bernard, the nobleman of Assisi, was converted by overhearing his devotions; how Egidius, whose thoughts were already turning from the world, flung himself at the feet of Francis and implored him to receive him as a companion; how Sylvester, the priest, tried to cheat him over some stones he had from him with which to repair a church and was overcome by his unworldly generosity; how he rejoiced in all suffering and humiliation; how he loved and rejoiced in all God's creatures; how two successive Popes sanctioned his Order (1210(?) and 1223); how he preached to the Soldan in Egypt; and finally, how he received the stigmăta or impress of the nails and the lance as a testimony to his oneness of spirit with Christ (b. 1182, d. 1226).

64. Jesus Christ.

68. Lucan tells how Cæsar found the fisherman, Amyclas, lying on a bed of seaweed, undismayed when he roused him to demand his services, and unmoved by the revolutions of the times, secure in his poverty.

72. Nearly all the MSS. read *pianse* (wept) for *salse* (rose) and the best modern editions for the most part follow them. Dr Moore, however (rightly as we think) adheres to the reading we have adopted. It is supported not only by internal evidence but by some of the old commentators and by the analogy of the ancient prayer for Poverty ascribed to St. Francis, in which are the words "when thy very mother, *because the cross was so high* . . . could not come at thee, Lady Poverty embraced thee more closely," etc.

87. The rope girdle worn by the Franciscans.

93, 97, 107. Note the *first*, *second*, *final*.

96. An enigmatical phrase, since it is in heaven that the song of praise is being sung. Compare xii. 81.

106. Alvernia.

117. "And when he had blessed the brothers he had

them take off his tunic, and place him naked on the ground" (Old Biography).

118-132. St. Thomas now passes to his own founder, Dominic, and rebukes the degenerate Dominicans. Compare xii. 106-126, *note*.

138. Another reading is *coreggier*, which would mean *the Dominican* (that is, one girt with the leather thong), and would refer either to the speaker (St. Thomas) himself or to any Dominican who might reprove his order in this way.

THE POSITION OF ASSISI

PARADISO

A SECOND circle of lights encloses the first and—with music whereof our sweetest strains are but as the reflection—the two, like the parallels of a double rainbow, circle Dante and Beatrice, first moving and then at rest (1-27). Like the needle of the compass to the north star so Dante is swept round to one of the new-come lights at the sound of its voice (28-30). It is Bonaventura, the Franciscan, who undertakes the encomium of

Sole Sì tosto come l' ultima parola
la benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
a rotar cominciò la santa mola ;
e nel suo giro tutta non si volse 4
prima ch' un' altra di cerchio la chiuse,
e moto a moto, e canto a canto colse :
canto che tanto vince nostre muse, 7
nostre sirene, in quelle dolci tube,
quanto primo splendor quel ch' ei refuse.
Come si volgon per tenera nube 10
due archi paralleli e concolori,
quando Giunone a sua ancella iube,
nascendo di quel d' entro quel di fuori, 13
a guisa del parlar di quella vaga,
ch' amor consunse come sol vapori ;
e fanno qui la gente esser presaga, 16
per lo patto che Dio con Noè pose,
del mondo che giammai più non si allaga :
così di quelle sempiterne rose 19
volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande,
e sì l' estrema all' ultima rispose.
Poichè il tripudio e l' alta festa grande, 22
sì del cantare e sì del fiammeggiarsi,
luce con luce gaudiose e blande,

CANTO XII

Dominic, just as Thomas, the Dominican, had pronounced that of Francis (31-78). Dominic's zeal for true learning and against heresy (79-105). If he was such, what must his colleague have been? But his disciples are ruined by the extremes of the strict and lax schools of observance (106-126). Bonaventura names himself and the other lights that circle with him (127-145).

Soon as the blessed flame had taken up the final word to speak, began the sacred millstone to revolve, The prudent

and in its rolling had not turned full round ere a second, circling, embraced it and struck motion to its motion and song to its song;

song which so far surpasseth our Muses, our Sirens, in those sweet tubes, as the first splendour that which it throweth back.

As sweep o'er the thin mist two bows, parallel and like in colour, when Juno maketh behest to her handmaiden,

the one without born from the one within—in fashion of the speech of that wandering nymph whom love consumed as the sun doth the vapours,—

making folk here on earth foreknow, in virtue of the compact that God made with Noah, that the world never shall be drowned again;

so of those sempiternal roses revolved around us the two garlands, and so the outmost answered to the other. Double crown of flames

Soon as the dance and high great festival,—alike of song and flashing light with light, gladsome and benign,—

Sole insieme a punto ed a voler quetarsi, 25
pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move
conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi,
del cor dell' una delle luci nuove 28
si mosse voce, che l' ago alla stella
parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove ;
e cominciò : " L' amor che mi fa bella 31
mi tragge a ragionar dell' altro duca,
per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.
Degno è che dov' è l' un l' altro s' induca, 34
sì che com' elli ad una militaro,
così la gloria loro insieme luca.
L' esercito di Cristo, che sì caro 37
costò a riarmar, retro all' insegna
si movea tardo, suspiccioso e raro,
quando lo imperador, che sempre regna, 40
provvide alla milizia ch' era in forse,
per sola grazia, non per esser degna ;
e, com' è detto, a sua sposa soccorse 43
con due campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire
lo popol disviato si raccorse.
In quella parte, ove surge ad aprire 46
Zefiro dolce le novelle fronde,
di che si vede Europa rivestire,
non molto lungi al percoter dell' onde, 49
retro alle quali, per la lunga foga,
lo sol talvolta ad ogni uom si nasconde,
siede la fortunata Calaroga 52
sotto la protezion del grande scudo,
in che soggiace il leone, e soggioga.
Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo 55
della fede cristiana, il santo atleta,
benigno ai suoi, ed ai nemici crudo ;

accordant at a point of time and act of will, had stilled them, like to the eyes which at the pleasure that moveth them must needs be closed and lifted in accord, The prudent

from out the heart of one of the new lights there moved a voice which made me seem the needle to the star turning me to where it was ;

and it began : " The love which maketh me beautiful draweth me to discourse of the other leader, on whose account such fair utterance is made to us concerning mine. Bona-ventura

Meet is it that wherever is the one, the other be led in, that, as they warred together, so may their glory shine in union.

Christ's army, which it cost so dear to re-equip, was following the standard, laggard, fearsome and thin-ranked ; Dominic and Francis

when the Emperor who ever reigneth took counsel for his soldiery that was in peril, of his grace only, not that it was worthy ;

and, as hath been said, came to the succour of his spouse with two champions, at whose doing, at whose saying, the straggling squadron gathered itself again.

Towards that part where sweet Zephyr riseth to open the new leaves, wherewith Europe seeth herself re-clad, Calahorra

not far off from the smiting of the waves, behind the which, because of their long stretch, the sun sometimes hideth himself from all,

the fortune-favoured Calahorra sitteth under protection of the mighty shield, whereon submits the lion, and subdueth.

Therewithin was born the ardent friar of the Christian faith, the sacred athlete, benignant to his own followers and cruel to his foes ; Dominic

Sole e come fu creata, fu repleta 58
sì la sua mente di viva virtute,
che nella madre lei fece profeta.

Poichè le sponsalizie fur compiute 61
al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,
u' si dotar di mutua salute,

la donna, che per lui l' assenso diede, 64
vide nel sonno il mirabile frutto
ch' uscir dovea di lui e delle rede ;

e perchè fosse, quale era, in costrutto, 67
quinci si mosse spirito a nomarlo
del possessivo di cui era tutto.

Dominico fu detto ; ed io ne parlo 70
sì come dell' agricola, che Cristo
elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.

Ben parve messo e famigliar di Cristo ; 73
chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto
fu al primo consiglio che diè Cristo.

Spesse fiate fu tacito e desto 76
trovato in terra dalla sua nutrice
come dicesse : *Io son venuto a questo.*

O padre suo veramente Felice ! 79
o madre sua veramente Giovanna,
se interpretata val come si dice !

Non per lo mondo, per cui mo s' affanna 82
di retro ad Ostiense ed a Taddeo,
ma per amor della verace manna,

in picciol tempo gran dottor si feo, 85
tal che si mise a circuir la vigna,
che tosto imbianca, se il vignaio è reo ;

ed alla sedia, che fu già benigna 88
più ai poveri giusti, non per lei,
ma per colui che siede, che traligna,

and, so soon as created, his mind was so replete with living virtue, that in his mother's womb he made her prophetess. The prudent

When the espousals were complete at the sacred font, betwixt him and the faith, where they gave dower of mutual salvation,

the lady who for him gave the assent saw in her sleep the marvellous fruit destined to issue from him and from his heirs;

and that he might in very construing be what he was, a spirit from up here moved them to call him by the possessive adjective of him whose he all was.

Dominic was he named; and I speak of him as of the husbandman whom Christ chose for his orchard, to bring aid to it.

Well did he show himself a messenger and a familiar of Christ, for the first love made manifest in him was to the first counsel that Christ gave. Dominic's poverty and devotion

Many a time, silent and awake, was he found on the floor, by her who nursed him, as who should say, *It was for this I came.*

Oh father his, Felice in good sooth! Oh mother his, Giovanna in good sooth, if the word means, translated, what they say!

Not for the world for whose sake now men toil after him of Ostia and Thaddeus, but for love of the true manna,

in short season he became a mighty teacher, such that he set him to go round the vineyard, which soon turneth gray if the vine-dresser be to blame;

and from the seat which erst was more benign to the just poor—not in itself, but in him who sitteth on it, and degenerateth—

Sole non dispensare o due o tre per sei, 91
non la fortuna di prima vacante,
non *decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei*
addomandò; ma contro al mondo errante 94
licenza di combatter per lo seme,
del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.
Poi con dottrina e con volere insieme 97
con l' uficio apostolico si mosse,
quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme;
e negli sterpi eretici percosse 100
l' impeto suo, più vivamente quivi
dove le resistenze eran più grosse.
Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi, 103
onde l' orto cattolico si riga,
sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi.
Se tal fu l' una rota della biga, 106
in che la santa Chiesa si difese,
e vinse in campo la sua civil briga,
ben ti dovrebbe assai esser palese 109
l' eccellenza dell' altra, di cui Tomma
dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.
Ma l' orbita, che fe' la parte somma 112
di sua circonferenza, è derelitta,
sì ch' è la muffa dov' era la gromma.
La sua famiglia, che si mosse dritta 115
coi piedi alle sue orme, è tanto volta,
che quel dinanzi a quel di retro gitta;
e tosto si vedrà della ricolta 118
della mala coltura, quando il loglio
si lagnerà che l' arca gli sia tolta.
Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio 121
nostro volume, ancor troveria carta
u' leggerebbe: *Io mi son quel ch' io soglio;*

not to dispense or two or three for six, not for the fortune of the next vacancy, not for the tithes belonging to God's poor, The prudent

he made demand; but for leave against the erring world to fight for that seed wherefrom these four and twenty plants ensheaf thee. Order founded

Then with teaching and with will together, with the apostolic office he moved forth, like a torrent that a deep vein out-presseth,

and his impetus smote amongst the stumps of heresy most strongly where the resistances were most obstinate.

From him then diverse streamlets sprung, whereby the Catholic orchard is so watered that its shrubs have the fuller life.

If such was the one wheel of the chariot wherein Holy Church defended herself, and won in open field her civil strife, Francis

clear enough should be to thee the excellence of that other, concerning whom, ere my coming, Thomas was so courteous.

But the track which the highest part of its circumference took hath been so abandoned, that there now is mould where once was crust. The Franciscans

His household, who marched straight with feet in his footprints, hath turned so round, that the toe striketh on the heel's imprint;

and soon shall sight be had of the harvest of the ill-culture, when the tares shall wail that the granary is taken from them is reft from it.

I well allow that whoso should search leaf after leaf through our volume, might yet find a page where he might read: *I am as I was wont;*

Sole ma non fia da Casal, nè d' Acquasparta, 124
là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura,
che l' un la fugge e l' altro la coarta.
Io son la vita di Bonaventura 127
da Bagnoregio, che nei grandi offici
sempre posposi la sinistra cura.
Illuminato ed Augustin son quici, 130
che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli,
che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici.
Ugo da San Vittore è qui con elli, 133
e Pietro Mangiadore, e Pietro Ispano
lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli;
Natan profeta, e il metropolitano 136
Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato
ch' alla prim' arte degnò por la mano;
Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato 139
il Calabrese abate Gioacchino,
di spirito profetico dotato.
Ad inveggiar cotanto paladino 142
mi mosse la infiammata cortesia
di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino;
e mosse meco questa compagnia." 145

3. The horizontal sweep of a mill-stone is contrasted with the vertical motion of a wheel in *Conv.* iii. 5: 176. The Apostles are frequently represented in art as working the Divine mill, and it may be under the influence of this association, as well as the direct fascination of the sight of a mill at work, that Dante compares the circling of these lights of the Church to the sweep of a mill-stone.

7-9. The reference is general. 'Every song and every note produced in the throat or in the tubes of musical instruments is but a faint reflection of the heavenly music.'

10-18. This passage is often cited to illustrate

but not from Casale, nor from Acquasparta shall he be, whence come such to our Scripture that the one shirketh, the other draweth it yet tighter. The prudent

I am the life of Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, who in the great offices did ever place the left-hand care behind.

Illuminato and Augustine are here, who were of the first unshod poor brethren, that with the cord made themselves friends to God. The spirits named

Hugh of St. Victor is here with them, and Pietro Mangiadore, and Pietro Ispano, who giveth light below in twelve booklets ;

Nathan the prophet, the metropolitan Chrysostom, and Anselm, and that Donatus who deigned to set his hand to the first art ;

Rabanus is here, and there shineth at my side the Calabrian abbot Joachim, endowed with prophetic spirit.

To emulous speech of so great paladin moved me the enkindled courtesy of brother Thomas and his well-judged discourse, and moved this company with me."

Dante's love of packing one simile within another. The two circles of lights were like a double rainbow (Juno's handmaid = Iris = Rainbow), and one rainbow is like the echo of another, and the nymph Echo was consumed by love as vapours are consumed by the Sun. Note the characteristic combination of Pagan mythology and Hebrew legend. Compare *Gen.* ix. 8-17.

21. The Italian presents a difficulty ; *ultima* = the "last" (counting from outside inwards), being used for *intima* = the "inmost."

28-30. The speaker is Bonaventura (1221-1274), known as the Seraphic Doctor. He became General of the Franciscans in 1256.

33. Compare lines 106-126 of this Canto, *note*.

46-51. Calahorra, in Spain, not far from the Gulf of Gascony.

53, 54. The royal arms of Castile bear a castle in the first and third quarters, and a lion in the second and fourth. Thus on one side of the shield the lion is subdued by the castle, and on the other subdues it.

57. Of Dominic (1170-1221) comparatively little is known, but it presents a striking parallel and contrast to Francis. Dominic was a man of learning, and Francis was unlettered. Dominic's concern was for soundness of the faith, and Francis was given to deeds of love. Dominic's most characteristic work was the attempted conversion of the Albigensian heretics, and the stimulating of theological study at the universities, that of Francis tending the lepers of Italy. Dominic embraced poverty as a pledge of Apostolic zeal, and Francis for pure love of her; that is to say, from a sense that the more we *have* the less we can *be*, and a passionate joy in coming into naked contact with God and nature.

For the rest Dominic did *not* found the Inquisition; he did *not* take any considerable part in the persecution of the Albigenses (though he was united in close friendship with Folco, who did. Compare ix. 94, *note*); he did *not* introduce the use of the Rosary, and he did *not* utter the well-known rebuke of the pomp and luxury of the Papal legates, but listened to it as his superior Didacus delivered it. Very little of his biography, as usually told, is left after this; but that little shows him as a man of boundless love and compassion. When a student, he sold his books in a season of famine to give to the poor; he once offered to sell himself to redeem a captive; and his "frequent and special prayer" to God was for the gift of true charity.

60. "His mother when pregnant dreamed that she had in her womb a dog-whelp, with a torch in his mouth, whereby to set the world aflame when he should come into light" (*Brev. Rom.*).

61-63. "For the lady who held him at his baptism dreamed that Dominic himself had a most bright star on his brow, which illuminated all the world."—Benvenuto.

67. *Dominicus* (the possessive adjective of *Dominus*) = "pertaining to the Lord."

75. The counsel of poverty (*Matt.* xix. 21, whence the phrase "counsels of perfection"). Thomas Aquinas, while distinguishing between the *precepts* and the *counsels* of Christ, says that the latter may all be reduced to three —Poverty, Continence and Obedience. The "first" counsel, then, is Poverty.

79. *Felice*=favoured by fortune.

80. *Giovanna* is translated by Jerome "grace of the Lord." It is curious that Bonaventura in heaven is still dependent on Jerome for his Hebrew (compare xi. 96, but also iv. 51, *note*).

83. Henry of Susa, who became Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1261, was a commentator on the Decretals. Compare ix. 134, *note*. Thaddeus was a celebrated writer on medical subjects, who died in 1303. He was the author of the Italian translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, which Dante cites as a warning (*Conv.* i. 10: 68-71). The meaning is, of course, that Dominic studied not to qualify for a lucrative profession, but to come at the truth. Compare xi. 4.

88-90. A marked case of severing the ideal Papacy from the actual Popes. The Papacy *in itself* is as benign to the poor as ever; but the degenerate Pope (Boniface VIII.) makes it manifest itself in other fashion.

91-93. His application was not for leave to plunder on condition of paying a third or a half of the plunder to pious purposes, nor a petition for the first fat appointment that should fall vacant, or for leave to apply the tithes to his own purposes. The *erring world*= the heretics, notably the Albigenses, against whom Dominic's efforts were mainly directed.

98. He obtained the sanction of his order from Honorius III. in 1216.

106-126. The panegyric on Francis is pronounced by a Dominican, and that on Dominic by a Franciscan (whereas the denunciation of the unworthy Dominicans and Franciscans is in each case pronounced by one of themselves). Thus Dante foreshadowed what afterwards became a general usage, viz., for a Dominican to read mass in a Franciscan convent on their founder's day (Oct. 4), and a Franciscan to do the like for a Dominican convent on their founder's day (Aug. 4).

119-121. Compare *Matt.* xiii. 30.

124-126. From the moment of the death of Francis disputes as to the lax or strict observance of the rule devastated the Order. They have left their trace on all the earliest biographies. In Dante's time Ubertino of Casale (1259-1338) was one of the leaders of the "Spirituals," or party of the strict observance. Matteo d'Acquasparta, who was elected General of the Order in 1287, and who was sent to Florence in 1300 and again in 1301 by Boniface VIII. (see Gardner, i. 4, "The Jubilee," etc., and Villani, viii. § 40, 43, 49) as pacificator, introduced relaxations into the discipline of the Order. Dante here makes Bonaventura (who was General from 1256 to 1274, and who, as a matter of fact, pursued a conciliatory policy) plead for the *via media*, against both extremes. In Dante's own time there had been an elaborate appeal to Clement V. to settle the affairs of the Order, which resulted in the issuing of the Bull *Exivi de Paradiso*.

129. *Left-hand care* = temporal affairs. There is a story of Bonaventura, on a certain visitation, spending hours with a young Franciscan, answering his questions and removing his difficulties. His companions urged him to leave him and continue his journey. "Shall I disobey my master?" he answered. He took his title of *minister* seriously.

130. Illuminato (who accompanied Francis to the Holy Land) and Augustine joined the Order in 1210. Possibly placed here to vindicate the significance of a man's life as teaching; though they were not (as Benvenuto says) unlettered men.

133. *St. Victor* was an abbey in Paris, which became the centre of the old-fashioned and conservative learning as distinguished from the Aristotelian and scholastic learning. Hugo (c. 1097-1141) was one of its greatest lights. He was the teacher of Richard, and of Peter Lombard. Compare x. 131, 132, and 107, 108.

134. Peter "the devourer" of books († 1179) was the author of the *Historia Scolastica*, a paraphrase of the Scriptures, a French translation of which was very widely known in the Middle Ages. He became Chancellor of the University of Paris in 1164. Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXI., was the author

of a little cram-book of logic, which retained its popularity deep into the Renaissance period. It is from it that the well-known Memoria Technica verses, *Barbara Celarent*, etc., are derived; though whether he invented them or not is a matter of dispute.

136, 137. John Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth (c. 344-407), Archbishop of Constantinople, renowned for his fearless eloquence, denounced the vices of the court, and was persecuted and exiled by the Empress Eudoxia in consequence. No doubt his collocation with Nathan, who denounced David's sin (2 *Sam.* xii.), is designed. Anselm (1033-1109), Archbishop of Canterbury, is known as the second father of scholasticism, Scotus Erigena (ninth century) being the first. Both alike endeavoured to show that the contents of natural reason and of revealed truth coincide. Donatus (fl. middle of fourth century) was the author of the grammar in current use, though the far more elaborate work of Priscian (fl. 500) was always recognised as the typical grammar. Priscian is mentioned in *Inf.* xv. 109.

139. Rabanus Maurus (c. 766-856), Bishop of Mayence. He compiled, amongst other works, a cyclopædia *De universo* in xxii. books. In the unsettled state of theology at the time, and in his zeal for orthodoxy, he came nigh himself to falling unawares into heresies concerning Predestination.

140. Joachim (c. 1130-1202) was the reputed author of many prophecies. He was also the first preacher of the doctrine that the dispensation of the Father (Old Testament) and of the Son (New Testament, and the Church as an institution) would be followed by the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, the period of perfection and freedom, without the necessity of disciplinary institutions. This was the "Everlasting Gospel"—a dispensation, not a book. Joachim was a Cistercian, not a Franciscan; but the Franciscan "Spirituals" were much influenced by him, and one of them, Gerardus by name, wrote a book entitled *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel.* "Joachism" henceforth became a feature of the extreme Spiritual movement among the Franciscans, and as such was opposed by Bonaventura. Compare x. 136, *note.*

PARADISO

THE four and twenty brightest stars of heaven, ranged in two crowns, will give a feeble image of the two circles that swept round Dante and his guide (1-24). They sing of the Three Persons in the one nature of God and of the two natures in the one Person of Christ (25-27). Then they pause again, and Thomas once more speaks (28-33). He reads Dante's perplexity: "Did not both Adam and Christ possess all human knowledge in perfection? How then can it be that *none ever rose* to equal Solomon's wisdom?" (34-48). Behold the answer: All mortal and immortal things are but a reflection of the divine Idea—*i.e.* of the loving self-utterance of the divine power—which remains one in itself while it is broken into countless manifestations (49-66). But the imprinting influences of heaven and the imprinted matter of earth are not always in equally propitious habit, and hence individual diversities of excellence (67-72). But matter was perfectly disposed

Sole Imagini chi bene intender cupe
quel ch' io or vidi (e ritenga l' image,
mentre ch' io dico, come ferma rupe)
quindici stelle che in diverse plage
lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno,
che soperchia dell' aere ogni compage;
imagini quel Carro, a cui il seno
basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,
sì ch' al volger del temo non vien meno;
imagini la bocca di quel corno,
che si comincia in punta dello stelo
a cui la prima rota va dintorno,

and the heaven was in supreme excellence of power when Adam was created and when the Virgin conceived (73-84). Therefore Dante's initial supposition is true (85-87). But there is no contradiction; for Solomon desired not astronomical, nor logical, nor metaphysical, nor geometrical, but regal wisdom (88-105). Of all who ever *rose* to kingly rule (which Adam and Christ did not) none had such wisdom as Solomon (106-111). Let Dante take warning from this discussion and observe extremest caution in making unqualified deductions however obvious they may appear; for when once we are committed our own vanity prevents us from retreating and we had better not have thought about a problem than so thought as to fortify ourselves against the truth. Philosophy and Theology alike furnish sad examples (112-129). And seeming-obvious moral judgments may be as hasty and false as intellectual ones (130-142).

Let him imagine, who would grasp rightly what I now beheld (and let him hold the image while I speak, like a firm rock), The prudent

fifteen of those stars that, in sundry regions, quicken the heaven with such brightness as to pierce all the knitted air,

let him imagine that Wain for which the bosom of our heaven sufficeth night and day, so that it faileth not to the Wain-pole's sweep,

let him imagine the mouth of that horn which starteth from the axle round which the primal circling goeth,

Sole aver fatto di sè due segni in cielo, 13
qual fece la figliuola di Minoi
allora che sentì di morte il gelo;
e l' un nell' altro aver li raggi suoi, 16
ed ambedue girarsi per maniera,
ch l' uno andasse al prima e l' altro al poi:
ed avrà quasi l' ombra della vera 19
costellazion e della doppia danza,
che circulava il punto dov' io era;
poich' è tanto di là da nostra usanza, 22
quanto di là dal mover della Chiana
si move il ciel che tutti gli altri avanza.
Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana, 25
ma tre persone in divina natura,
ed in una persona essa e l' umana.
Compiè il cantare e il volger sua misura, 28
ed attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,
felicitando sè di cura in cura.
Ruppe il silenzio nei concordi numi 31
poscia la luce, in che mirabil vita
del poverel di Dio narrata fumi,
e disse: "Quando l' una paglia è trita, 34
quando la sua semenza è già riposta,
a batter l' altra dolce amor m' invita.
Tu credi che nel petto, onde la costa 37
si trasse per formar la bella guancia,
il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa,
ed in quel che, forato dalla lancia, 40
e poscia e prima tanto satisfece,
che d' ogni colpa vince la bilancia,
quantunque alla natura umana lece 43
aver di lume, tutto fosse infuso
da quel valor che l' uno e l' altro fece.

all to have made of themselves two signs in heaven, such as Minos' daughter made when she felt the chill of death ; The prudent

and one to have its rays within the other, and both the two to turn them in such fashion that one should take the lead, and the other follow ;

and he shall have as though the shade of the real constellation and the twofold dance which circled round the point whereat I was ;

for it as far transcendeth our use as doth transcend the movement of Chiana the motion of that heaven which all the rest surpasseth.

There did they sing, not Bacchus, and not Pæan, but three Persons in the divine nature, and it and the human nature in one Person. The hymn

The song and wheeling had fulfilled their measure, and to us turned their heed those sacred torches, rejoicing as they passed from charge to charge.

Then 'mid the harmonious divinities silence was broken by the light wherein the wondrous life of the poor man of God had been rehearsed to me,

which said : " Since the one sheaf is threshed, and its seed stored already, sweet love inviteth me to beat out the other. Thomas

Thou holdest that into the breast wherefrom the rib was drawn to form the beauteous cheek for whose palate all the world doth pay, Adam

and into that which, thrust by the lance, made satisfaction both for past and future, such as to turn the scale against all trespass, Christ

such light as human nature may receive was all infused by that same Worth which made the one and the other.

Sole E però ammiri ciò ch' io dissi suso, 46
quando narrai che non ebbe secondo
lo ben che nella quinta luce è chiuso.
Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch' io ti rispondo, 49
e vedrai il tuo credere e il mio dire
nel vero farsi come centro in tondo.
Ciò che non more e ciò che può morire 52
non è se non splendor di quella idea
che partorisce, amando, il nostro sire ;
chè quella viva luce che sì mea 55
dal suo lucente, che non si disuna
da lui, nè dall' amor che a lor s' intrea,
per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna, 58
quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,
eternalmente rimanendosi una.
Quindi discende all' ultime potenze 61
giù d' atto in atto tanto divenendo,
che più non fa che brevi contingenze ;
e queste contingenze essere intendo 64
le cose generate, che produce
con seme e senza seme il ciel movendo.
La cera di costoro, e chi la duce, 67
non sta d' un modo, e però sotto il segno
ideale poi più e men traluce :
ond' egli avvien ch' un medesimo legno, 70
secondo specie, meglio e peggio frutta ;
e voi nascete con diverso ingegno.
Se fosse a punto la cera dedutta, 73
e fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
la luce del suggel parrebbe tutta ;
ma la natura la dà sempre scema, 76
similemente operando all' artista,
ch' ha l' abito dell' arte e man che trema.

And so thou wonderest at what I said above, The prudent
when I declared the good enclosed in the fifth light ne'er to have had a second.
Now ope thine eyes to what I answer thee, and thou shalt see what thou believest and what I say, strike on the truth as centre in the circle.
That which dieth not, and that which can die, Creation and Emanation
is naught save the re-glow of that Idea which our Sire, in Loving, doth beget;
for that living Light which so outgoeth from its Source that it departeth not therefrom, nor from the Love that maketh three with them,
doth, of its goodness, focus its own raying, as though reflected, in nine existences, eternally abiding one.
Thence it descendeth to the remotest potencies, down, from act to act, becoming such as maketh now mere brief contingencies;
by which contingencies I mean the generated things which are produced from seed, or seedless, by the moving heaven.
The wax of these, and that which mouldeth it, standeth not in one mode, and therefore, Matter and Form
'neath the ideal stamp, is more and less transparent;
whence it cometh, that one same tree according to its kind better and worse doth fruit; and ye are born with diverse genius.
Were the wax exactly moulded, and were the heaven in its supremest virtue, the light of the signet would be all apparent;
but nature ever furnisheth it faulty, doing as doth the artist who hath the knack of his art and a trembling hand.

Sole Però se il caldo amor, la chiara vista
della prima virtù dispone e segna,
tutta la perfezion quivi s' acquista.

Così fu fatta già la terra degna
di tutta l' animal perfezione ;
così fu fatta la Vergine pregna.

Sì ch' io commendo tua opinione :
chè l' umana natura mai non fue,
nè fia, qual fu in quelle due persone.

Or, s' io non procedessi avanti piùe,
' Dunque, come costui fu senza pare ? '
comincerebber le parole tue.

Ma, perchè paia ben quel che non pare,
pensa chi era, e la cagion che il mosse,
quando fu detto : ' Chiedi,' a domandare.

Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse
ben veder ch' ei fu re, che chiese senno,
acciocchè re sufficiente fosse ;

non per saper lo numero in che enno
li motor di quassù, o se *necesse*
con contingente mai *necesse* fenno ;

non, *si est dare primum motum esse*,
o se del mezzo cerchio far si puote
triangol sì ch' un retto non avesse.

Onde, se ciò ch' io dissi e questo note,
regal prudenza è quel vedere impari,
in che lo stral di mia intenzion percote.

E se al *surse* drizzi gli occhi chiari,
vedrai aver solamente rispetto
ai regi, che son molti, e i buon son rari.

Con questa distinzion prendi il mio detto,
e così puote star con quel che credi
del primo padre e del nostro diletto.

Wherefore if the warm Love, if the clear Vision, of the primal Power dispose and stamp, entire perfection is acquired there. The prudent

Thus was the clay made worthy once of the full animal perfection; and thus the Virgin was impregnated.

Wherefore I sanction thine opinion that human nature never was, nor shall be, such as in those two persons.

Now, should I proceed no further, 'How then was he without a peer?' were the beginning of thy words.

But, that what now appeareth not may be apparent, think who he was, and what the cause which moved him—when he was bidden: 'Choose,'—to make demand. Solomon's choice

I have spoken so that thou mayst perceive he was a king, who chose such wit that as a king he might be adequate;

not to know the number in which exist the mover spirits here above, nor if a necessary and a contingent premise can ever give a necessary conclusion;

nor whether we must grant a *primum motum*; nor whether in a semicircle can be constructed a triangle that shall have no right angle.

Wherefore (if this and all that I have said thou note) that insight without peer whereon the arrow of my intention smiteth, is regal prudence. His wisdom

And if to *rose* thou turn discerning eyes, thou shalt see that it hath respect only to kings, of which are many and the good ones few.

Thus instructed do thou accept my saying; and so it may accord with what thou holdest of the first father and of our delight.

Sole E questo ti sia sempre piombo ai piedi,
per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,
ed al sì ed al no, che tu non vedi :
chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
che senza distinzion afferma o nega,
nell' un così come nell' altro passo ;
perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega
l' opinion corrente in falsa parte,
e poi l' affetto lo intelletto lega.
Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,
perchè non torna tal qual ei si move,
chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l' arte :
e di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove
Parmenide, Melisso, Brisso e molti
i quali andavano, e non sapean dove.
Sì fe' Sabellio ed Arrio, e quegli stolti
che furon come spade alle scritture
in render torti li diritti volti.
Non sien le genti ancor troppo sicure
a giudicar, sì come quei che stima
le biade in campo pria che sien mature :
ch' io ho veduto tutto il verno prima
il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,
poscia portar la rosa in su la cima ;
e legno vidi già dritto e veloce
correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,
perire al fine all' entrar della foce.
Non creda donna Berta o ser Martino
per vedere un furare, altro offerere,
vedergli dentro al consiglio divino ;
chè quel può surgere, e quel può cadere."

1-15. The seven bright stars of the Great Bear (which in our latitude never sets), the two brightest of the Little Bear (to which constellation the pole-

And let this ever be lead to thy feet, to make thee move slow, like a weary man; both to the yea and nay thou seest not; The prudent
for he is right low down amongst the fools who maketh affirmation or negation without distinction between case and case;
wherefore it chanceth many times swift-formed opinion leaneth the wrong way, and then conceit bindeth the intellect. Rash judgment
Far worse than vainly doth he leave the shore, since he returneth not as he puts forth, who fisheth for the truth and hath not the art;
and of this to the world are open proofs, Parmenides, Melissus, Bryson, and the host who still were going, but they knew not whither.
So did Sabellius and Arius, and those fools who were as polished swords unto the Scripture, in making the straight countenances crooked.
Let not folk yet be too secure in judgment, as who should count the ears upon the field ere they be ripe; Unfulfilled expectations
for I have seen first, all the winter through, the thorn display itself hard and forbidding, and then upon its summit bear the rose;
and I have seen ere now a ship fare straight and swift over the sea through her entire course, and perish at the last, entering the harbour mouth.
Let not Dame Bertha or Squire Martin think, if they perceive one steal and one make offering, they therefore see them as in the divine counsel; for the one yet may rise and the other fall."

star belongs), and fifteen others, not specified, make up the twenty-four required; and the reader is to imagine them all arranged in a double Ariadne's crown.

23. The Chiana in Dante's time made its sluggish way southward to the Tiber through pestiferous swamps. It is taken as the type of the slowest motion, as the whirling of the *primum mobile* is of the swiftest.

34-36. Compare x. 94-96, 112-114; xi. 25.

52-66. Dante is careful in his use of *splendor* to signify *reflected* light (see i. 2, *note*). All created things, then, are reflections of the Word, or Idea, of God. *Reflection* and *refraction* are not clearly differentiated; and in lines 58, 59, created things are spoken of as the points on which the rays of God are focussed, though the conception of the mirror is still retained. The "nine existences" (line 59) we take to be the nine heavens, which, as immediate creations of God, are not subject to change. But as the divine light descends upon and vivifies the remoter and duller potentialities of the *materia prima*, successively realising their possibilities (line 62), the result is contingent and short-lived. Compare with the whole passage, i. 103-142; ii. 112-148; vii. 64-72, 124-148; xxix. 13-36; and note that in the present passage and the lines that follow, the veiled dualism, which may constantly be traced in Dante's conception of the universe, becomes particularly prominent. The *prima materia*, though explicitly declared in xxix. 22, 34; vii. 136, to be the direct creation of God, is here and elsewhere treated as something external, on which his power acts and which answers only imperfectly to it. Compare *De Monarchia*, ii. 2: 20-38; *Conv.* iii. 12: 62-81. With line 66 compare *Purg.* xxviii. 103-120.

55-57. The Son emanating from the Father without separation from him or from the Holy Ghost.

68, 69. 'The better disposed the material the more completely it lets the ideal shine through it, when under the impress of the seal.'

79-81. The original is ambiguous. The translation (which is grammatically somewhat hazardous) takes it to mean that if both the wax is prepared and the stamp impressed immediately by the Deity, a perfect result will ensue.

82. The clay out of which Adam was made.

91-93. See 1 *Kings* iii. 5-15.

97-102. No disrespect is intended to the branches of

study here referred to. Solomon asked for practical, not philosophical or scientific, wisdom. The explanation, however, apart from its subtlety, is unsatisfactory; since the supreme position of Solomon amongst the sages and doctors of the Church hardly lends itself to it. On line 97 *cf. Conv.* ii. 6: 126-151. The problem of 98, 99, may be stated thus: It is a general principle that no limitation that occurs in either of the premises can be escaped in the conclusion. Thus, if either of the premises is negative you cannot get a positive conclusion; if either of them is particular you cannot get a general conclusion; if either is contingent you cannot get a necessary conclusion. For instance, from "The man on whom the lot falls *must* be sacrificed," and "The lot *may* fall on you," you can infer: "therefore you *may* be sacrificed," but not "therefore you *must* be sacrificed." Ingenious attempts to get a necessary conclusion out of a necessary and a contingent premise are exposed by the logicians, *e.g.*, "Anyone who may run from the foe must be a coward; some of these troops may run from the foe, therefore some of them must be cowards." The fallacy lies in the ambiguous use of "may run from the foe." In the first instance it means, "is, *as a matter of fact*, capable of running away"; in the second, "may, *for anything I know*, run away." So that the two propositions do not hang together, and the conclusion is invalid.

100. Compare i. 1, *note*, and xxiv. 131, 132, *note*.

101, 102. See Euclid, iii. 31. Euclid's *Elements* were in Dante's time the accepted text-book of Geometry. Compare *De Monarchia*, i. 1: 19-21.

109, 116. Compare xi. 27, *note*.

125. *De Monarchia*, iii. 4: 30-33. They were known to Dante only through Aristotle's refutations.

127. Sabellius († c. 265) confounded the persons of the Father and the Son; Arius († 336) divided their substance.

128, 129. Some take the allusion to be to the distorted reflections from the blade of a sword, others to hacking by sword-strokes.

139. For "Martin," as equivalent to "such an one," compare *Conv.* i. 8: 94, and iii. 11: 67. And for "Bertha," *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ii. 6: 34.

AS vibrations pass outward and inward in a vessel filled with water, when disturbed by a blow, so the speech of the blessed spirits passed from Thomas in the circumference to Beatrice in the centre, and then back from her to the circumference (1-9). Dante has now become accustomed to the spirit world freed from those limitations of corporeal sense-organs of which he is himself still conscious, and the perplexity is diffusing itself within him, though not yet precipitated into definite thought, as to how it can be that the resurrection of the body shall not reimpose limitations and weariness upon the now emancipated souls, making the very glory of heaven painful. Or will that glory be then tempered? Beatrice requests an answer for this yet unspoken and even unthought demand; and when all have sung a hymn of praise, Solomon tells how human nature includes body and soul, and therefore the disembodied soul is less complete than the whole person when the soul shall be reclad with the glorified body. When more complete it will be more pleasing to God, and will so receive more of his grace (above its merit,

Sole Dal centro al cerchio, e sì dal cerchio al centro,
movesi l' acqua in un ritondo vaso,
secondo ch' è percossa fuori o dentro.
Nella mia mente fe' subito caso
questo ch' io dico, sì come si tacque
la gloriosa vita di Tommaso,
per la similitudine che nacque
del suo parlare e di quel di Beatrice,
a cui sì cominciar dopo lui piacque:
" A costui fa mestieri, e nol vi dice,
nè con la voce nè pensando ancora,
d' un altro vero andare alla radice.

though not given without relation thereto), and will thus see him more adequately and therefore love him more warmly and therein have greater joy, expressed in more dazzling brightness. But the organs of sense will be incapable of pain or weariness; no excess of delight will be beyond their joyous grasp (10-60). The souls quiver in response to the reference to the resurrection (61-66). A third circle shows itself, first in dubious faintness, then with a sudden flash (67-78), at the very moment when Dante and his guide pass into the red-glowing Mars (79-87). A cross gleams white athwart the red planet (88-102), whereon Christ flashes in such fashion as tongue may not tell (103-108). Souls in light move and pass upon the limbs of the cross, uttering divine melody and singing hymns of victory but half comprehended by Dante, yet more entrancing than aught that he had hitherto experienced (109-129); experienced *hitherto*, but he had not yet looked upon the beloved eyes of his guide in this fifth heaven, and therefore he must not be taken, by implication, to place the heavenly song above the ever-deepening beauty of Beatrice's eyes (130-139).

The prudent

From centre to circumference and again from circumference to centre vibrates the water in a rounded vessel according as 'tis smitten from without or from within.

Into my mind this thought dropped sudden, just as the glorious spirit of Thomas held its peace,

because of the resemblance that sprang from his discourse, and then from Beatrice's, whom to begin thus after him it pleased:

"This man hath need, and telleth it you not, neither with voice, nor as yet with his thought, to track another truth unto its root.

Sole Ditegli se la luce, onde s' infiora 13
vostra sustanzia, rimarrà con voi
eternamente sì com' ella è ora ;
e, se rimane, dite come, poi 16
che sarete visibili rifatti,
esser potrà ch' al veder non vi noi."
Come da più letizia pinti e tratti 19
alla fiata quei che vanno a rota
levan la voce e rallegrano gli atti,
così all' orazion pronta e devota 22
li santi cerchi mostrar nuova gioia
nel tornear e nella mira nota.
Qual si lamenta perchè qui si moia, 25
per viver colassù, non vide quive
lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia.
Quell' uno e due e tre che sempre vive, 28
e regna sempre in tre e due e uno,
non circonscritto, e tutto circonscrive,
tre volte era cantato da ciascuno 31
di quegli spirti con tal melodia,
ch' ad ogni merto saria giusto muno.
Ed io udi' nella luce più dia 34
del minor cerchio una voce modesta,
forse qual fu dall' angelo a Maria,
risponder : " Quanto fia lunga la festa 37
di Paradiso, tanto il nostro amore
si raggerà dintorno cotal vesta.
La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore, 40
l' ardor la visione, e quella è tanta,
quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore.
Come la carne gloriosa e santa 43
fia rivestita, la nostra persona
più grata fia per esser tutta quanta.

Tell if the light wherewith your being blossometh, eternally will cleave to you as now, The prudent

and if it doth remain, tell how, when ye grow visible again, it may not grieve your vision."

As by access of gladness thrust and drawn, at once all they who circle in the dance uplift their voice and gladden their gestures,

so at the eager and devoted prayer the sacred circles showed new joy in their revolving and their wondrous note.

Whoso lamenteth that we here must die to live up yonder seeth not here the refreshment of the eternal shower.

That One and Two and Three who ever liveth and reigneth ever in Three and Two and One, not circumscribed, but all circumscribing,

three times was hymned by each one of those spirits with such melody as were a fit reward to any merit.

And I heard in the divinest light of the smaller circle an unassuming voice, perchance such as the Angel's unto Mary, Solomon

answering: "As long as the festival of Paradise shall be, so long our love shall cast round us the rays of such a garment.

Its brightness shall keep pace with our ardour, our ardour with our vision, and that shall be as great as it hath grace beyond its proper worth.

Whenas the garment of the glorified and sainted flesh shall be resumed, our person shall be more acceptable by being all complete.

Sole Per che s' accrescerà ciò che ne dona
di gratuito lume il sommo bene ;
lume ch' a lui veder ne condiziona :
onde la vision crescer conviene,
crescer l' ardor che di quella s' accende,
crescer lo raggio che da esso viene.
Ma sì come carbon che fiamma rende,
e per vivo candor quella soperchia
sì che la sua parvenza si difende,
così questo fulgor, che già ne cerchia,
fia vinto in apparenza dalla carne
che tutto dì la terra ricoperchia ;
nè potrà tanta luce affaticarne,
chè gli organi del corpo saran forti
a tutto ciò che potrà dilettarne."
Tanto mi parver subiti ed accorti
e l' uno e l' altro coro a dicer : *Amme*,
che ben mostrar disio dei corpi morti ;
forse non pur per lor, ma per le mamme,
per li padri, e per gli altri che fur cari,
anzi che fosser sempiterne fiamme.
Ed ecco intorno, di chiarezza pari,
nascere un lustro sopra quel che v' era,
a guisa d' orizzonte che rischiari.
E sì come al salir di prima sera
comincian per lo ciel nuove parvenze,
sì che la vista pare e non par vera ;
parvemi lì novelle sussistenze
cominciar a vedere, e fare un giro
di fuor dall' altre due circonferenze.
O vero isfavillar del santo spiro,
come si fece subito e candente
agli occhi miei che vinti non soffriro!

Whereby shall grow that which the highest Good giveth to us of unearned light, light which enableth us him to see ; The prudent

wherefore the vision must needs increase, and also the ardour which is kindled by it, and the ray which goeth forth from it.

But like the coal which giveth forth the flame, and by its living glow o'ercometh it, so that its own appearance is maintained, Future glory

so shall this glow which doth already swathe us, be conquered in appearance by the flesh which yet and yet the earth o'ercovereth ;

nor shall such light have power to baffle us, for the organs of the body shall be strong to all that may delight us."

So swift and eager to cry *Amen*, meseemed, was the one and the other chorus, that verily they showed desire for their dead bodies ; Resurrection of the body

not only, as I take it, for themselves, but for their mothers and their fathers and the others who were dear, ere they became eternal flames.

And lo ! around, of lustre equable, upsprings a shining beyond what was there, in fashion of a brightening horizon. The third circle

And as, at the first rise of evening, new things-to-see begin to show in heaven, so that the sight doth, yet doth not, seem real ;

I there began perceive new-come existences making a circle out beyond the other two circumferences.

Oh true sparkling of the Holy Breath ! how sudden and how glowing it became before my eyes, which, vanquished, might not bear it !

Salita Ma Beatrice sì bella e ridente
mi si mostrò, che tra quelle vedute
si vuol lasciar che non seguir la mente.

Quindi ripreser gli occhi miei virtute
a rilevarsi, e vidimi translato
sol con mia donna in più alta salute.

Marte Ben m' accors' io ch' io era più levato
per l' affocato riso della stella,
che mi parea più roggio che l' usato.

Con tutto il core, e con quella favella
ch' è una in tutti, a Dio feci olocausto,
qual conveniasi alla grazia novella ;

e non er' anco del mio petto esausto
l' ardor del sacrificio, ch' io conobbi
esso litare stato accetto e fausto ;

chè con tanto lucore e tanto robbi
m' apparvero splendor dentro a due raggi
ch' io dissi : " O Elios, che sì gli addobbi ! "

Come, distinta da minori e maggi
lumi, biancheggia tra i poli del mondo
Galassia sì che fa dubbiar ben saggi,

sì costellati facean nel profondo
Marte quei rai il venerabil segno,
che fan giunture di quadranti in tondo.

Qui vince la memoria mia lo ingegno :
chè quella croce lampeggiava Cristo,
sì ch' io non so trovare esemplo degno.

Ma chi prende sua croce e segue Cristo,
ancor mi scuserà di quel ch' io lasso,
vedendo in quell' albor balenar Cristo.

Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso,
si movean lumi, scintillando forte
nel congiungersi insieme e nel trapasso.

But Beatrice showed herself to me so beauteous and smiling, it must be left amongst those sights that followed not my memory. The courageous

Therefrom my eyes regained their power to uplift them, and I saw me transported, alone with my Lady, to more exalted weal.

Surely did I perceive that I was more uplifted by the enkindled smile of the star which seemed to me more ruddy than his wont. The glow of the planet

With all the heart, and in that tongue which is one unto all, to God I made burnt sacrifice such as befitted this new-given grace;

and not yet from my bosom was drawn out the ardour of the sacrifice before I knew the prayer had been accepted and with favour;

for with such radiance, and so ruddy, within two rays, splendours appeared to me, that I exclaimed: "O God! who thus dost glorify them!"

As, pricked out with less and greater lights, between the poles of the universe the Milky Way so gleameth white as to set the very sages questioning,

so did those rays, star-decked, make in the depth of Mars the venerable sign which crossing quadrant lines make in a circle. The Cross of Mars

Here my memory doth outrun my wit, for that cross so flashed forth Christ that I may not find example worthy.

But whoso taketh his cross and followeth Christ shall yet forgive me what I leave unsaid, when he shall see Christ lighten in that glow.

From horn to horn, from summit unto base, were moving lights that sparkled mightily in meeting one another and in passing.

Marte Così si veggion qui diritte e torte,
veloci e tarde, rinnovando vista,
le minuzie dei corpi, lunghe e corte,
moversi per lo raggio, onde si lista
talvolta l' ombra, che per sua difesa
la gente con ingegno ed arte acquista.
E come giga ed arpa, in tempra tesa
di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno
a tal da cui la nota non è intesa,
così dai lumi che lì m' apparinno
s' accogliea per la croce una melode,
che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.
Ben m' accors' io ch' ell' era d' alte lode,
però che a me venia : " Risurgi e vinci,"
com' a colui che non intende ed ode.
Io m' innamorava tanto quinci,
che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa
che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.
Forse la mia parola par tropp' osa,
posponendo il piacer degli occhi belli,
nei quai mirando mio disio ha posa.
Ma chi s' avvede che i vivi suggelli
d' ogni bellezza più fanno più suso,
e ch' io non m' era lì rivolto a quelli,
escusar puommi di quel ch' io m' accuso
per escusarmi, e vedermi dir vero :
chè il piacer santo non è qui dischiuso,
perchè si fa, montando, più sincero.

34. Solomon. Compare x. 109.

45. Compare *Inf.* vi. 103-111. Aquinas says : " The soul without the body hath not the perfection of its nature."

46-51. Compare xxviii. 106-111.

So we see here, straight, twisted, swift or slow, changing appearance, long or short, the motes of bodies — The courageous
moving through the ray which doth sometimes streak the shade, which folk with skill and art contrive for their defence.
And as viol and harp tuned in harmony of many cords, make sweet chiming to one by whom the notes are not apprehended,
so from the lights that there appeared to me was gathered on the cross a strain that rapt me albeit I followed not the hymn.
Well I discerned it was of lofty praise, for there came to me "Rise thou up and conquer," as to who understandeth not, but heareth. — Song of victory
And so was I enamoured there, that up till then there had been naught that had bound me with so sweet chains.
Perchance my saying may appear too bold, as slighting the delight of those fair eyes, gazing in which my longing hath repose. — Beatrice
But he who doth advise him how the living signets of all beauty have ever more effect in higher region, and that I there had not yet turned to them,
may find excuse from my own accusation, brought that I may excuse it; and may see that I speak truth; for the sacred joy is not excluded here, which as it mounteth groweth more unalloyed.

64-66. Bernard writes on the resurrection of the body in his treatise *On loving God*. It is his consistent doctrine that the blessedness of heaven is found in the complete absorption of the soul in God, self-consciousness being, as it were, replaced not by unconsciousness

but by God-consciousness. "But if, as is not denied, they [the disembodied spirits of the blessed] would fain have received their bodies again, or at any rate desire and hope to receive them, it is clear beyond question that they are not yet utterly transmuted from themselves, since it is admitted that there is still somewhat proper to themselves toward which, though it be but a little, their thought is deflected. Therefore, until death be swallowed up in victory, and the perennial light so invade the boundaries of darkness and take possession of them on every side that the celestial glory shine forth even in the very bodies, the souls cannot utterly empty themselves and pass over into God, since they are even yet bound to their bodies, if not by life and sense, yet by natural affection, because of which they have neither the will nor the power to be consummated without them. And so, before the restoration of the bodies there cannot be that lapse of the souls [into God] which is their perfect and supreme state. Nor is it any marvel if the body, now of glory, seem to confer somewhat upon the spirit, since even in its infirmity and mortality it of a surety was of no small avail to it. Oh how true did he speak who said that all things work together for the good of them

that love God! To the soul that loveth God, its body availeth in its infirmity, availeth in its death, availeth in its resurrection; first for the fruit of penitence, second for repose, third for consummation. And rightly doth the soul not will to be made perfect without that which it feeleth hath in every state served it in good things."

67-78. Line 76 makes it clear that this third circle specially represents the Holy Spirit, and so completes the symbol of the Trinity. Compare xxxiii. 115.

In its dimness at first and brightness afterwards, there may be a reference to the difficulty that has always been experienced in finding an adequate *philosophical* basis for the doctrine of the Third Person of the Trinity corresponding to the clearness of the distinction between the conceptions of God in his essence (Father) and God as manifested (Son); whereas to the more strictly *theological* speculation, or rather to the religious experience, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit (God regarded not as the Creator or the Redeemer, but as the Inspirer) has always had a special vividness. Compare xii. 140, *note*.

99. Compare *Conv.* ii. 15: 44-86, a passage interesting on many grounds.

PARADISO

THE souls of the warriors of God upon the cross of Mars cease their hymn, that Dante may converse with one of their number, who shoots like a falling star from his place and, approaching Dante with such joy as Anchises showed to Æneas in the Elysian fields, greets him as his offspring and as the recipient of unique grace, the twice-received (now and at his death) of heaven (1-30). Dante, giving heed to him and (now first in this higher sphere) looking on Beatrice, is smitten with two-fold marvel (31-36). The spirit, after rapturous words beyond the scope of the poet's comprehension, gives thanks to God, tells Dante how eager yet how sweet has been his longing for his arrival, foreread in the heavens; confirms his thought that the spirits see all things in God, as the true mathematician

Marte

Benigna volontade, in cui si liqua
sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,
come cupidità fa nell' iniqua,

silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
e fece quietar le sante corde,
che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.

Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde
quelle sustanzie, che, per darmi voglia
ch' io le pregassi, a tacer fur concorde?

Ben è che senza termine si doglia
chi, per amor di cosa che non duri,
eternalmente quell' amor si spoglia.

Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri
discorre ad ora ad or subito foco,
movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri,

e pare stella che tramuti loco,
se non che dalla parte ond' ei s' accende
nulla sen perde, ed esso dura poco;

sees all number in the conception of unity; but bids him none the less speak out his questions, though already known to him, in God, with their appointed answers (37-69). Dante, unlike the souls in glory, has no utterance adequate to show forth his thanks (70-84). The spirit, in answer to his question, reveals himself as his great-great-grandfather, the father of Alighieri from whom the poet's family name is derived (85-96). He describes the ancient Florence, confined within the walls to which the Badia was adjacent, and dwells upon the simple ways of her citizens (97-129). In such a city was he born, baptised and married (130-138). Thence he followed Conrad in his crusade, was knighted, was slain, and arose to the peace of heaven (139-148).

The benign will—wherein distilleth ever the love that hath the right perfume, as doth, in the grudging will, cupidity— The courageous

imposed silence on that sweet lyre and stilled the sacred strings, which the right hand of heaven looseneth and stretcheth. Silence in Heaven

How shall those beings unto righteous prayers be deaf, who, to excite in me the will to make my prayer to them, agreed in silence ?

Right is it he should grieve without a limit, who, for the love of what endureth not, eternally doth strip him of this love.

As through the tranquil and pure skies darteth, from time to time, a sudden flame setting a-moving eyes that erst were steady,

seeming a star that changeth place, save that from where it kindleth no star is lost, and that itself endureth but a little;

Marte tale, dal corno che in destro si stende, 19
al piè di quella croce corse un astro
della costellazion che lì risplende :
nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro, 22
ma per la lista radial trascorse,
che parve foco retro ad alabastro.
Sì pia l' ombra d' Anchise si porse, 25
se fede merta nostra maggior musa,
quando in Elisio del figlio s' accorse.
" *O sanguis meus, o superinfusa* 28
gratia Dei, sicut tibi, cui
bis unquam coeli ianua reclusa? "
Così quel lume ; ond' io m' attesi a lui, 31
poscia rivolsi alla mia donna il viso,
e quinci e quindi stupefatto fui :
chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso 34
tal ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo
della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso.
Indi, a udire ed a veder giocondo, 37
giunse lo spirto al suo principio cose
ch' io non intesi, sì parlò profondo :
nè per elezion mi si nascose, 40
ma per necessità, chè il suo concetto
al segno dei mortal si soprappose.
E quando l' arco dell' ardente affetto 43
fu sì sfocato, che il parlar discese
in ver lo segno del nostro intelletto ;
la prima cosa che per me s' intese, 46
" Benedetto sie tu," fu, " trino ed uno,
che nel mio seme sei tanto cortese."
E seguitò : " Grato e lontan digiuno, 49
tratto leggendo nel magno volume
u' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno,

such from the horn that stretcheth to the right unto that cross's foot, darted a star of the constellation that is there a-glow ; The courageous

nor did the gem depart from off its riband, but coursed along the radial line, like fire burning behind alabaster.

With such-like tenderness Anchises' shade proffered itself, if our greatest Muse deserveth credit, when in Elysium he perceived his son.

" Oh blood of mine ! Oh grace of God poured o'er thee ! to whom was ever twice, as unto thee, heaven's gate thrown open ? "

So spake that light ; wherefore I gave my heed to him. Then I turned back my sight unto my Lady, and on this side and that I was bemazed ; Dante and Beatrice

for in her eyes was blazing such a smile, I thought with mine I had touched the limit both of my grace and of my Paradise.

Then—joyous both to hearing and to sight—the spirit added things to his beginning that I understood not, so profound his speech ; Cacciaguida

neither of choice hid he himself from me, but of necessity, for above the capacity of mortals his thought took its place.

And when the bow of ardent love was so tempered that his discourse descended towards the range of our intellect ;

the first I understood was, " Blessed be thou, thou Three and One, who are so greatly courteous in my seed."

And followed on : " A dear long-cherished hunger, drawn from the reading of the mighty volume wherein neither white nor black ever changeth,

Marte soluto hai, figlio, dentro a questo lume
in ch' io ti parlo, mercè di colei
ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume.
Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei
da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei;
e però chi io mi sia, e perch' io paia
più gaudioso a te, non mi domandi,
che alcun altro in questa turba gaia.
Tu credi il vero; chè minori e grandi
di questa vita miran nello speglio,
in che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi.
Ma perchè il sacro amore, in che io veglio
con perpetua vista e che m' asseta
di dolce disiar, s' adempia meglio,
la voce tua sicura, balda e lieta
suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,
a che la mia risposta è già decreta."
Io mi volsi a Beatrice, e quella udio
pria ch' io parlassi, ed arrosemi un cenno
che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio.
Poi cominciai così: " L' affetto e il senno,
come la prima equalità v' apparse,
d' un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno;
però che il sol, che v' allumò ed arse
col caldo e con la luce, è sì iguali,
che tutte simiglianze sono scarse.
Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali,
per la cagion ch' a voi è manifesta,
diversamente son pennuti in ali.
Ond' io che son mortal, mi sento in questa
disagguaglianza, e però non ringrazio
se non col core alla paterna festa.

thou hast assuaged, my son, within this light, wherein I speak to thee; thanks unto her who for the lofty flight clad thee with wings. The courageous
Thou deemest that to me thy thought hath way e'en from the primal Thought, as ray forth from the monad, rightly known, the pentad and the hexad;
and therefore, who I be, or why I seem to thee more gladsome than another in this festive throng thou makest not demand.
Rightly thou deemest; for less and great spirits in this life gaze on the mirror whereon, or ere thou thinkest, thou dost outspread thy thought.
But that the sacred love, wherein I watch with sight unintermitted, and which setteth me athirst with a sweet longing, may be fulfilled the better,
secure and bold and joyous let thy voice sound forth the will, sound forth the longing, whereto my answer already is decreed."
I turned to Beatrice, and she heard ere that I spoke, and granted me a signal that made the wings of my desire increase.
Then I thus began: "Love and intelligence, soon as the prime equality appeared to you, became of equal poise to each of you, Dante
because the sun which lightened and warmed you with heat and brightness hath such equality that all similes fall short of it.
But unto mortals, will and instrument, for reasons manifest to you, unequally are feathered in their wings.
Wherefore I, a mortal, feel the stress of this unequalness, and therefore only with my heart give thanks for the paternal greeting.

Marte Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio,
che questa gioia preziosa ingemmi,
perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio."
" O fronda mia, in cu' io compiacemmi
pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice " ;
cotal principio, rispondendo, femmi.
Poscia mi disse : " Quel da cui si dice
tua cognazion, e che cent' anni e piùe
girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,
mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue :
ben si convien che la lunga fatica
tu gli raccorci con l' opere tue.
Fiorenza, dentro dalla cerchia antica,
ond' ella toglie ancora e terza e nona,
si stava in pace, sobria e pudica.
Non avea catenella, non corona,
non donne contigiate, non cintura
che fosse a veder più che la persona.
Non faceva, nascendo, ancor paura
la figlia al padre, chè il tempo e la dote
non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura.
Non avea case di famiglia vote ;
non v' era giunto ancor Sardanapalo
a mostrar ciò che in camera si puote.
Non era vinto ancora Montemalo
dal vostro Uccellatoio, che, com' è vinto
nel montar su, così sarà nel calo.
Bellincion Berti vid' io andar cinto
di cuoio e d' osso, e venir dallo specchio
la donna sua senza il volto dipinto ;
e vidi quel del Nerlo e quel del Vecchio
esser contenti alla pelle scoperta,
e le sue donne al fuso ed al pennecchio.

But I may and do entreat thee, living topaz, who dost be-gem this precious jewel, that thou satisfy me with thy name." The courageous

" Oh leaf of mine, in whom I took delight, only expecting thee, I was thy taproot," such opening in his answer made he me. Cacciaguida

Then said: "He from whom thy kindred hath its name, and who a hundred years and more, hath circled round the Mount on the first terrace.

was son to me, and thy grandfather's father; meet it is, that with thy works thou shouldst abate his long-stretched toil for him.

Florence, within the ancient circling wherefrom she still receiveth tierce and nones, abode in peace, sober and chaste. Florence in olden time

There was no chain or coronet, nor dames decked out, nor girdle that should set folk more a-gaze than she who wore it.

As yet the daughter's birth struck not the father with dismay; for wedding day and dowry evaded not the measure due on this side and on that.

There were no mansions empty of the household; Sardanapalus had not yet arrived to show what may be done within the chamber.

Not yet was Montemalo overpassed by your Uccellatoio, which, as it hath been passed in the uprising, shall be in the fall.

Bellincion Berti have I seen go girt with leather and bone, and his dame come from her mirror with unpainted face;

I have seen him of the Nerlo, and him of the Vecchio, content with the skin jerkin and naught over it, and their dames at the spindle and the flax.

Marte O fortunate! ciascuna era certa
della sua sepoltura, ed ancor nulla
era per Francia nel letto deserta.
L' una vegghiava a studio della culla,
e consolando usava l' idioma
che pria li padri e le madri trastulla;
l' altra traendo alla rocca la chioma,
favoleggiava con la sua famiglia
dei Troiani, di Fiesole e di Roma.
Saria tenuta allor tal maraviglia,
una Cianghella, un Lapo Salterello,
qual or saria Cincinnato o Corniglia.
A così riposato, a così bello
viver di cittadini, a così fida
cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello,
Maria mi diè, chiamata in alte grida,
e nell' antico vostro Batisteo
insieme fui Cristiano e Cacciaguida.
Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo;
mia donna venne a me di val di Pado,
e quindi il soprannome tuo si feo.
Poi seguitai lo imperador Currado,
ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia,
tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
Retro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa,
per colpa dei pastor, vostra giustizia.
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa
disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
e venni dal martiro a questa pace."

25-27. For the meeting of Anchises and Æneas, see *Æneid*, vi. 679, *sqq*. For family tree, see p. 373.

Oh happy they, each one of them secure of her burial-place, and none yet deserted in her couch because of France. The courageous

The one kept watch in minding of the cradle, and soothing spake that speech which first delighteth fathers and mothers;

another, as she drew its threads from the distaff, would tell her household about the Trojans, and Fiesole, and Rome.

Then a Cianghella, or a Lapo Salterello, would have been as great a marvel as now would Cincinnatus or Cornelia. Changed manners

To so reposeful and so fair a life among the citizens, to so faithful cityhood, to so sweet abode,

Mary—with deep wailings summoned—gave me; and, in your ancient Baptistery, at once a Christian I became and Cacciaguida.

Moronto was my brother and Eliseo; my wife came to me from Po valley, and from her was thy surname derived.

Then followed I the Emperor Conrad, who girt me with his knighthood, so much by valiant work did I advance me in his grace. Cacciaguida's death

In his train I marched against the infamy of that Law whose people doth usurp, shame to the pastors, what is yours by right.

There by that foul folk was I dismantled of the deceitful world, whose love befouleth many a soul, and came from martyrdom unto this peace."

62. God.

73–81. God who is the supreme "equality," *i.e.*, in

whom all things realise their absolute proportion and perfection (*cf.* xxxiii. 103-105), fills the blessed spirits with love and insight in equal measure, so that their utterance is the perfect expression of their emotion, but we mortals find our wills out-flying our power of utterance.

92. Dante has fallen into a slight error. There is documentary evidence that this Alighieri was living in 1201.

98. An allusion to the Badia, from the belfry of which the canonical hours were sounded. Tierce was at nine o'clock, nones at twelve. *Conv.* iii. 6 : 12-32.

105. The bride's age too little, her dowry too much.

106. The families being decayed, or in exile.

107. Sardanapālus, king of Nineveh, is taken as the general type of luxury.

109. Montemalo, or Montemario, was the first point at which the traveller on the road from Viterbo came in sight of Rome, and the Uccellatojo is the first place at which the traveller along the *old* road from Bologna comes in sight of Florence.

112. Bellincion Berti was the father of the "good Gualdrada" (*Inf.* xvi. 37). See Villani, v. 37.

118-120. None was in fear lest she should die in exile. The reference to France is obscure; perhaps it alludes to the frequency of travel in France, in Dante's time, for business or other purposes.

126. Compare the early chapters of Villani.

128. Cianghella della Tosa, a notorious shrew, married an Imolese. Benvenuto da Imola declares he could tell us many tales of her. Lapo Salterello took an active part in the patriotic task of resisting the encroachments of Boniface (see Gardner, i. 4, "The Jubilee," etc.), but appears to have been a worthless person. He was one of Dante's fellow exiles. *Cf.* xvii. 61-63.

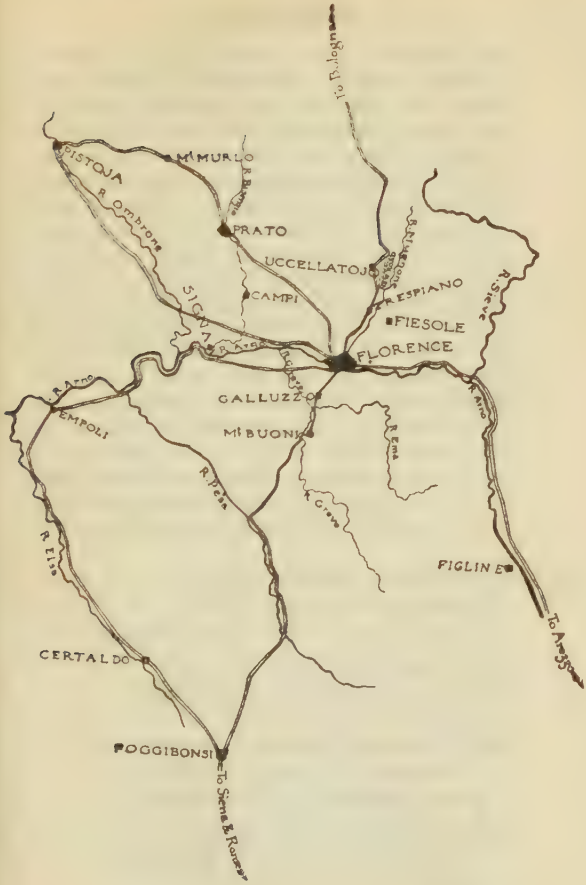
133. The Virgin Mary was invoked by women in labour, as the virgin goddess Diana had been in Pagan times. *Cf. Purg.* xx. 19-21.

136. The name Eliseo may be taken as an indication, but not as a proof, of the connection of the Alighieri with the noble family of the Elisei, asserted by Boccaccio. Compare xvi. 40-42 : and Gardner, i. 2.

139. Conrad III. (reigned 1137-1152) joined Bernard's crusade in 1147.

143. *Law* here as elsewhere = "Religion." See *Conv.* ii. 9 : 69-72.

THE DISTRICT AROUND FLORENCE



PARADISO

IN profound reverence for his ancestor, and not without a sense of his own derived dignity, Dante addresses the spirit with the ceremonious plural *ye*, said to have originated in Rome, though no longer in use there; and hereon Beatrice (only moderately interested in Florentine antiquities, and so standing a little apart, but keenly alert to all that may affect the moral or spiritual weal of her charge) checks his rising vanity with a warning smile (1-15). Dante, full of such lofty joy as would on earth strain the mind to bursting, questions Cacciaguida as to ancient Florence (16-27), whereon he, in the speech of an earlier day, tells the date of his birth and the place where his forebears dwelt, declining, in enigmatical terms, to say more of them (28-45). The population of military age was then but a fifth of what it had since become, and the narrow limits of the territory of Florence kept the blood of her citizens pure. Would that it were so yet! But lust of power, the confusion resulting from Papal ambition, and the fatal quarrel between the Buondel-

Marte O poca nostra nobiltà di sangue!
se gloriar di te la gente fai
quaggiù, dove l' affetto nostro langue,
mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai;
chè là, dove appetito non si torce,
dico nel cielo, io me ne gloriai.
Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,
sì che, se non s' appon di dì in dì,
lo tempo va dintorno con le force.
Dal *voi* che prima Roma sofferie,
in che la sua famiglia men persevra,
ricominciaron le parole mie;

monti and Amidei, have ruined all, and have given unwieldy bulk to Florence while polluting her blood (46-72). Then follows a dirge on the great families of ancient Florence, introduced by tragic reflections on the tide-like instability of all earthly things. Many of these families are mentioned by name, others are indicated by their characteristics or their blazon (73-126). Count Hugo ennobled the six families that bear his coat of arms, with various differences, though Giano della Bella had since joined the people (127-132). The Gualterotti and Importuni were already in Florence, but the Buondelmonti were not yet—would that they had never been!—their neighbours. The Amidei and their associates were held in honour. Alas that Buondelmonte broke his marriage-word with them, and gave rise to all the internal strife of Florence. How much ill had been avoided if God had plunged him into the Ema as he rode into Florence. But it was fated that she should make her sacrifice to that torso of Mars, at whose feet he was slain (133-154).

Ah puny blood-nobility of ours! If thou makest folk glory in thee here below, where our affections sicken, — The courageous

it shall be marvel to me never more; for there, where appetite is unwarped, I mean in heaven, I gloried me therein. — Pride of Birth

Yet verily thou art a mantle that soon shrinketh, so that, if day by day there be naught added, time goeth round with the shears.

With that *ye* that Rome was first to allow, wherein her household doth least persevere, my words began again;

Marte onde Beatrice, ch' era un poco scevra,
ridendo, parve quella che tossio
al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra.

Io cominciai: " Voi siete il padre mio,
voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza,
voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.

Per tanti rivi s' empie d' allegrezza
la mente mia, che di sè fa letizia,
perchè può sostener che non si spezza.

Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,
quai fur li vostri antichi, e quai fur gli anni
che si segnaro in vostra puerizia.

Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni
quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti
tra esso degne di più alti scanni."

Come s' avviva allo spirar dei venti
carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella
luce risplendere ai miei blandimenti;

e come agli occhi miei si fe' più bella,
così con voce più dolce e soave,
ma non con questa moderna favella,

dissemi: " Da quel dì che fu detto *Ave*
al parto in che mia madre, ch' è or santa,
s' alleviò di me ond' era grave,

al suo Leon cinquecento cinquanta
e trenta fiate venne questo foco
a rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.

Gli antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco,
dove si trova pria l' ultimo sesto
da quel che corre il vostro annual gioco.

Basti dei miei maggiori udirne questo;
chi ei si furo, ed onde venner quivi,
più è tacer, che ragionare, onesto.

whereon Beatrice, who was a little sundered from us, smiled, and seemed to me like her who coughed at the first trespass writ of Guinivere. The courageous

I began: "Ye are my father, ye give me full boldness to speak, ye so uplift me, that I am more than myself. Dante

By so many streams my mind is filled with gladness, it giveth itself joy that it can bear it and yet not be rent.

Tell me, then, dear stock from which I spring, what was your ancestry, and what the years recorded in your boyhood.

Tell me of the sheepfold of St John, how great it then was, and who were the folk worthy of loftiest seats in it."

As a coal quickeneth into flame at the wind's breathing, so did I see that light glow forth at my caressing words;

and even as to my sight it grew more beauteous, so with a voice more sweet and gentle, but not in this our modern dialect,

he said: "From the day on which *Ave* was uttered, to the birth wherein my mother, now sainted, unburdened her of me with whom she was laden, Cacciaguida

five hundred, fifty, and thirty times did this flame return to his own Lion to rekindle him beneath his feet.

My forebears and myself were born in the spot where he who runneth in your annual games doth first encounter the last sesto.

About my ancestors let it suffice so much to hear; of who they were and whence they hither came, silence were comelier than discourse.

Marte Tutti color ch' a quel tempo eran ivi
da poter arme, tra Marte e il Batista,
erano il quinto di quei che son vivi.

Ma la cittadinanza, ch' è or mista
di Campi, di Certaldo e di Fighine,
pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.

O quanto fora meglio esser vicine
quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo
ed a Trespiano aver vostro confine,

che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo
del villan d' Aguglion, di quel da Signa,
che già per barattare ha l' occhio aguzzo !

Se la gente, ch' al mondo più traligna,
non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,
ma, come madre a suo figliuol, benigna,

tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca,
che si sarebbe volto a Simifonti,
là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca.

Sariasi Montemurlo ancor dei Conti,
sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone,
e forse in Val di Greve i Buondelmonti.

Sempre la confusion delle persone
principio fu del mal della cittade,
come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.

E cieco toro più avaccio cade
che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia
più e meglio una che le cinque spade.

Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia
come son ite, e come se ne vanno
di retro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia ;

udir come le schiatte si disfanno,
non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.

At that time all who were there, between Mars and the Baptist, capable of arms, were but the fifth of the now living ones. The courageous

But the citizenship, contaminated now from Campi, from Certaldo and from Fighine, saw itself pure down to the humblest artizan.

Oh, how much better were it for these folk of whom I speak to be your neighbours, and to have your boundary at Galluzzo and at Trespiano,

than to have them within, and bear the stench of the low-born hind of Aguglion, and of him of Signa, who still for jobbery hath his eye alert! Undue growth of Florence

Had the race, which goeth most degenerate on earth, not been to Cæsar as a step-mother, but, as a mother to her son, benign,

one who is now a Florentine and changeth coin and wares, had been dispatched to Simifonte, where his own grandfather went round a-begging.

Still would Montemurlo pertain unto the Conti, still were the Cerchi in Acone parish, and perchance in Valdigreve were still the Buondelmonti.

Ever was mingling of persons the source of the city's woes, as piled-on food is of the body's.

And a blind bull falleth more presently than a blind lamb, and many a time cutteth one sword better and more than five. Unwieldy bulk

If thou regard Luni and Urbisaglia, how they have perished, and how are following them Chiusi and Sinigaglia;

it shall not seem a novel or hard thing to hear how families undo themselves, since even cities have their term.

Marte Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte, 79
sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna
che dura molto, e le vite son corte.
E come il volger del ciel della luna 82
copre ed iscopre i liti senza posa,
così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna;
per che non dee parer mirabil cosa 85
ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,
onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.
Io vidi gli Ughi, e vidi i Catellini, 88
Filippi, Greci, Ormanni ed Alberichi,
già nel calare, illustri cittadini;
e vidi così grandi come antichi, 91
con quel della Sannella, quel dell' Arca,
e Soldanieri, ed Ardinghi, e Bostichi.
Sopra la porta, che al presente è carca 94
di nuova fellonia di tanto peso
che tosto fia jattura della barca,
erano i Ravignani, ond' è disceso 97
il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome
dell' alto Bellincion ha poscia preso.
Quel della Pressa sapeva già come 100
regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio
dorata in casa sua già l' elsa e il pome.
Grande era già la colonna del Vaio, 103
Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti e Barucci,
e Galli, e quei che arrossan per lo staio.
Lo ceppo, di che nacquero i Calfucci, 106
era già grande, e già erano tratti
alle curule Sizii ed Arrigucci.
O quali io vidi quei che son disfatti 109
per lor superbia! e le palle dell' oro
fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.

Your affairs all have their death, even as have ye; but in such an one as long endureth, it escapeth note because your lives are short. The courageous

And as the rolling of the lunar heaven covereth and layeth bare the shores incessantly, so fortune doth to Florence;

wherefore it should appear no wondrous thing which I shall tell of the exalted Florentines whose fame lieth concealed by time.

I have seen the Ughi, seen the Catellini, Filippi, Greci, Ormanni, and Alberichi, illustrious citizens, already in decline; Florentine families

I have seen, even as great as ancient, with him of the Sannella, him of the Arca, and Soldanieri and Ardinghi and Bostichi.

Over the gate which is now laden with new felony of so great weight, that soon 'twill be the wrecking of the barque,

were the Ravignani, whence descendeth the County Guy, and whoso since hath taken lofty Bellincione's name.

The Della Pressa knew already how to govern, and Galigaio in his mansion already had the hilt and pommel gilt.

Great already were the Vair column, Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti, and Barucci; and Galli, and they who blush red for the bushel. Pigli

The stock whence the Calfucci sprang was great already, and already drawn to curule office were Sizii and Arrigucci. Donati

Oh, how great have I seen those now undone by their pride! And the balls of gold adorned Florence in all her mighty feats. Uberti and Lamberti

Marte Così facean li padri di coloro
che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,
si fanno grassi stando a consistoro.
L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca
retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente
o ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa,
già venia su, ma di picciola gente,
sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato
che poi il suocero il fe' lor parente.
Già era il Caponsacco nel mercato
disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era
buon cittadino Giuda ed Infangato.
Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera ;
nel picciol cerchio s' entrava per porta,
che si nomava da quei della Pera.
Ciascun che della bella insegna porta
del gran barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
la festa di Tommaso riconforta,
da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio ;
avvenga che col popol si raduni
oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.
Già eran Gualterotti ed Importuni ;
ed ancor saria Borgo più quieto,
se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni.
La casa di che nacque il vostro fleto,
per lo giusto disdegno che v' ha morti
e posto fine al vostro viver lieto,
era onorata, ed essa e suoi consorti.
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti
le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti !
Molti sarebber lieti, che son tristi,
se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema
la prima volta che a città venisti.

So did their fathers who, whene'er your church is vacant, stand guzzling in consistory. The courageous

The outrageous tribe that playeth dragon after whoso fleeth, and to whoso showeth tooth—or purse—is quiet as a lamb, Adimari

was coming up already, but from humble folk, so that it pleased not Ubertin Donato when his father-in-law made him their relative.

Already Caponsacco had come down from Fiesole into the market-place; and good citizens already were Giuda and Infangato.

I will tell a thing incredible but true: the little circuit was entered by a gate named after them of Pera. The Pera gate

Each one who beareth aught of the fair arms of the great baron whose name and worth the festival of Thomas keepeth living, Count Hugo

from him derived knighthood and privilege; though he who fringeth it around hath joined him now unto the people. Della Bella

Already there were Gualterotti and Importuni; and still were Borgo a more quiet spot, if from new neighbours they were still a-fasting.

The house from which your wailing sprang, because of the just anger which hath slain you and placed a term upon your joyous life, Amidei

was honoured, it and its associates. Oh Buondelmonte, how ill didst thou flee its nuptials at the prompting of another!

Joyous had many been who now are sad, had God committed thee unto the Ema the first time that thou camest to the city.

Marte Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema
che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
vittima nella sua pace postrema.

Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,
vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,
che non avea cagion onde piangesse ;

con queste genti vid' io glorioso
e giusto il popol suo, tanto che il giglio
non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
nè per division fatto vermiglio."

1-9. Dante deals with the subject of nobility in the *De Monarchia*, ii. 3 : especially lines 12-20 ; and in *Conv.* iv. *passim* ; but especially 14 : 111-130.

10-12. The legend ran that when Cæsar united in himself all the high offices of state, he was addressed as a plurality of individuals, "ye" ; but as a matter of fact in Dante's time the Romans adhered to the old-fashioned *thou*. "Nay, they would not address either Pope or Emperor save as *thou*."—Benvenuto.

13-15. "At these words which the queen spake to him [Lancelot] it came to pass that the lady of Malehaut coughed, of a set purpose, and uplifted her head which she had bowed down."—*Romance of Lancelot*. See Toynbee under *Galeotto*.

25. Florence, the patron saint of which was St. John Baptist.

33. Does not imply that Cacciaguida spoke throughout in Latin as he had begun (xv. 28-30), but that he spoke in the ancient Florentine dialect of his day. Dante was well aware of the rapidity with which spoken dialects, not yet fixed by a standard literature, vary. See *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 9 : 60-77.

34-39. Some MSS. and editions read *three* for *thirty* ; and the question is also raised whether the period of Mars is to be calculated at the rough approximation of two years (compare *Conv.* ii. 15 : 145, where the half revolution is given at "about a year"), or at the nearer approximation of 687 days, which was known in Dante's age. Two of the four combinations which might thus arise are excluded by the date of Conrad's

But to that mutilated stone which guardeth the bridge 'twas meet that Florence should give a victim in her last time of peace. The courageous

With these folk, and with others with them, did I see Florence in such full repose, she had not cause for wailing; Statue of Mars

with these folk I saw her people so glorious and so just, ne'er was the lily on the shaft reversed, nor yet by faction dyed vermilion."

crusade, 1147. (Compare xv. 139.) Two years multiplied by 553 would give A.D. 1106 as the year of Cacciaguida's birth, and 687 days multiplied by 580 would give the year 1091. The former date would make Cacciaguida forty-one when he went on crusade, which seems more appropriate than fifty-six; but the reading that gives the latter has the better authority.

37. *His own lion.* Apparently the kinship between Leo and Mars is to be found in the attribute of courage, not in any specific astrological belief of the time.

40-42. The annual race was run along the *Corso*, and the Sesto of St. Peter was the last that the racers entered. Just as you come to it you pass the house of the Elisei on your right. (Compare xv. 136, *note.*) It is a place of ancient families. On the Quarters and Sesti of Ancient Florence, see Villani, iii. 2.

43-45. The reader may make what he can of this ambiguous utterance. The commentators throw no fresh light on it.

47. The baptistery lay at the north of the ancient Florence, and the statue of Mars (at the head of the Ponte Vecchio on the north side) was practically its southern boundary. On this statue of Mars compare *Inf.* xiii. 143-150. Further, see Villani, i. 42, 60; iii. 1; v. 38. The associations with this torso of Mars are so vivid and pervading that every student of Dante should make himself thoroughly acquainted with them. See further lines 145-7, *note.*

52. *Neighbours*, not fellow-citizens,

56. Baldo d'Aguglione and Fazio de' Mori Ubaldini da Signa, both of them lawyers, and both of them deserters from the White to the Black faction in 1302. Baldo was a prior in 1298 and in 1311, in which last year he drew up the decree recalling many of the exiles, but expressly excluding Dante. (Gardner, i. 6, "Letters and Fresh Sentences.") In 1299 he had been convicted of cutting an inconvenient entry out of the public records of the courts of justice. Compare *Purg.* xii. 105. Fazio held several high offices from 1310 onwards. He was a bitter opponent of the Whites and also of Henry VII.

58-63. Simifonti was a fortress in Valdelsa, captured in 1202. See Villani, v. 30. The specific allusion is obscure. Does it refer to a descendant of the traitor mentioned by Villani? or to some event more closely connected with papal intrigues and aggressions? Lines 58-60, a clear reference to the Roman priesthood, point to the latter interpretation. (Compare *Purg.* xvi. 103-120.)

64. *Montemurlo*, between Prato and Pistoja, was sold by the Conti Guidi to the Florentines in 1254, as they themselves felt unequal to the task of defending it against the Pistojans. Its acquisition, therefore, marks a step in the aggressive expansion of Florence.

65. *Acone* was probably in the Val di Sieve. Well if the Cerchi (leaders of the Whites) had stayed there! Compare lines 94-96.

66. This is the climax. The implication is that in that case all the intestine conflicts of Florence would have been averted. Compare lines 133-147, *note*.

73. *Luni* or Luna, "now destroyed," Villani, i. 50. It was on the Macra, the northern boundary of Tuscany, and was celebrated in legendary lore.

Urbisaglia, a decayed city of the March of Ancona.

75. *Chiusi*, the ancient Clusium, was in the pestilent Val di Chiana (compare xiii. 23, *note*). Hence probably its decline. Like Sinigaglia (on the sea shore, north of Ancona) it has escaped the complete desolation which Dante anticipated for it.

88-135. Information concerning many of these families will be found up and down the pages of Villani, especially iv. 10-13; and the sites of their houses, as

identified by Carbone, are given (with the exception of the Chiarmontesi, the Gangalandi, the Uccellini and the Gherardeschi) in the accompanying map, which also follows Carbone. The alternative site of the house of the Alighieri is taken from Witte.

94-99. The gate of St. Peter, the abode in Dante's time of the Cerchi. Compare line 65. (Gardner, i. 4, "Blacks and Whites.") Further, compare xv. 112, *note*.

102. Insignia of knighthood.

103. The Pigli whose arms are barred with vair (=ermine).

105. The Chiarmontesi, a Guelf family who dwelt in the quarter of St. Peter, but the site of whose houses has not been further identified. One of the family, in Dante's time, had falsified the measure by which in his public capacity he issued salt to the Florentines. Compare *Purg.* xii. 105.

106, 107. The Donati, of whom the Calfucci were a branch.

109, 110. The Uberti, once the dominating family in Florence (see Villani, v. 9, and many other passages). Their characteristic pride survived in the great Farinata. (Compare *Inf.* x., especially 31-36.) The *golden balls* were the device of the Lamberti, of whom was Mosca. *Inf.* xxviii. 106.

112-114. The Visdomini, who, with the Della Tosa, "were patrons and defenders of the bishopric." Villani, iv. 10. Hence Dante's taunt that they fed fat on the sequestrated revenues when the See was vacant.

115-117. The Adimari, between whom and Dante there was an implacable hostility.

118-120. Ubertino Donati had married a daughter of Bellincion Berti, and, says Cacciaguida, objected to another of Bellincion's daughters being given in marriage to one of the Adimari. Compare Gardner, i. 3; last paragraph.

124-126. "Who would believe that the della Pera were an ancient family? But I say to thee that they are so ancient that a gate of the first circle of the city was called after them."—*Ottimo Comento.*

127-130. Hugh of Brandenburg, Imperial Vicar of Tuscany, died on St Thomas' Day, 1006, "and whilst the said Hugh was living, he made in Florence many

knights of the family of the Giandonati, of the Pulci, of the Nerli, of the Counts of Gangalandi, and of the family Della Bella, which all, for love of him, retained and bore his arms, barry, white and red, with divers charges." Villani, iv. 2; where the whole story of Hugh is given. To these families the Ciuffagni are added in iv. 13.

131, 132. Giano della Bella, the great democratic leader, the prime mover of the "Ordinances of Justice." Compare Gardner, i. 4; Villani, *Introduction*, § 5, especially pages xxxix. *sqq.*; and book viii. § 1, 8, etc. The Della Bella had a border of gold on their coat of arms.

133-135. The reference is to the Buondelmonti, whose houses will be seen to neighbour those of the Gualterotti and the Importuni.

136-138. The Amidei. See note on 145-147.

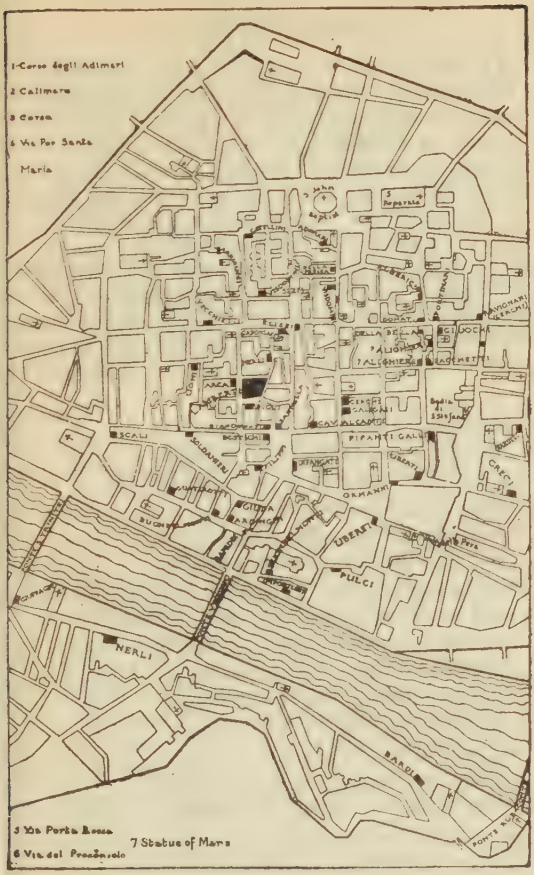
139. *Associates*, the Uccellini and Gherardini. In the democratic legislation against the Magnates (who systematically defied the civic law and recognised no authority save that of the Family Council), members of a family who had ceased to act with it were regarded as no longer belonging to it, and members of another family who had joined its Tower-club, that is to say, its association for the maintenance of a tower for military purposes, were regarded as its "consorts," or associates, forming one *consorteria* with it, and therefore legally identified with it.

145-147. Buondelmonte was betrothed to a maiden of the Amidei; but a lady of the Donati, introducing him to her beautiful daughter, persuaded him to break faith with his bride. Her friends and relatives held a council of war and debated whether to slay him or be content with some lesser chastisement. Then "Mosca de' Lamberti said the evil word: 'Thing done hath an end'; to wit, that he should be slain; and so it was done." He was slain at the foot of the statue of Mars. Villani, v. 38.

153. By the triumphant foe.

154. The old standard of Florence bore white lilies on a red field. It was maintained by the Ghibellines. In 1251 the Guelfs adopted a red lily on a white field. (See Villani, vi. 43.)

FLORENCE IN CACCIAGUIDA'S TIME



PARADISO

AS Phaeton came to Clymene to have his doubts resolved, so, encouraged by Beatrice, did Dante turn to Cacciaguida to learn from him the meaning of all the dark hints as to his future lot which he had heard in the three realms (1-27). Cacciaguida, not in oracular ambiguities but in plain speech, tells how contingency is but relative to material and human limitations (though free will is an absolute reality), and therefore he already sees, as a harmonious part of the blessed whole, the future that as a fragment of Dante's experience shall be so bitter (28-45). Florence shall accuse him of that treachery of which herself is guilty, and shall do it at the instigation of the Pope. Slandered,

Marte Qual venne a Climenè, per accertarsi
di ciò ch' avea incontro a sè udito,
quei ch' ancor fa li padri ai figli scarsi ;
tale era io, e tale era sentito
e da Beatrice e dalla santa lampa,
che pria per me avea mutato sito.
Per che mia donna : " Manda fuor la vampa
del tuo disio," mi disse, " sì ch' ell' esca
segnata bene della interna stampa ;
non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca
per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi
a dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca."
" O cara piota mia, che sì t' insusi
che, come veggion le terrene menti
non capere in triangolo due ottusi,
così vedi le cose contingenti
anzi che sieno in sè, mirando il punto
a cui tutti li tempi son presenti ;

exiled, and in penury, he must go his way, in evil company, till he isolates himself from all, and is justified in so doing by the event (46-69). His first refuge shall be in the court of the Scaliger who will anticipate all his requests by granting them, and with whom he shall find the now youthful hero who shall give proof of his worth before Henry VII.'s mission, and shall at last do deeds which even they who see them shall not credit (70-93). He further bids Dante not envy the wrong-doers, whose downfall he shall long outlive (94-99), and in answer to the timid suggestions of prudence urges him to reveal to the world the whole content of his vision (100-142).

The courageous

As came to Clymene, to have assurance as to that which he had heard uttered against himself, he who still maketh fathers grudging to their sons ;

such was I ; and such was I felt both by Beatrice and by the sacred lamp which had already, for my sake, changed its position.

Beatrice

Wherefore my Lady : " Let forth the heat of thy desire," she said, " that it may issue, struck aright with the internal stamp ;

not that our knowledge may increase by thy discourse, but that thou mayst learn to tell thy thirst, that men may pour out drink for thee."

Dante

" Dear turf, wherein I root me, who art so high uplifted that even as earthly minds perceive that two obtuse angles may not find room in one triangle,

so thou dost see contingent things, or ere themselves exist, gazing upon the point whereto all times are present ;

Marte mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto
su per lo monte che l' anime cura,
e discendendo nel mondo defunto,
dette mi fur di mia vita futura
parole gravi ; avvenga ch' io mi senta
ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura :
per che la voglia mia saria contenta
d' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa ;
chè saetta previsa vien più lenta."
Così diss' io a quella luce stessa,
che pria m' avea parlato, e come volle
Beatrice, fu la mia voglia confessa.
Nè per ambage, in che la gente folle
già s' inviscava, pria che fosse anciso
l' agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle,
ma per chiare parole, e con preciso
latin, rispose quell' amor paterno,
chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso :
" La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
della vostra materia non si stende,
tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno ;
necessità però quindi non prende,
se non come dal viso, in che si specchia,
nave che per corrente giù discende.
Da indi, sì come viene ad orecchia
dolce armonia da organo, mi viene
a vista il tempo che ti s' apparecchia.
Qual si partì Ippolito d' Atene
per la spietata e perfida noverca,
tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.
Questo si vuole, questo già si cerca,
e tosto verrà fatto a chi ciò pensa
là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.

whilst I was companioned by Virgil along the mount which cureth souls, and down-going through the dead world, The courageous

heavy words were said to me anent my future life; albeit I feel me squarely set against the blows of fortune;

wherefore my will were well content to hear what the disaster drawing nigh to me; for the arrow seen before cometh less rudely."

So spake I unto that same light which had before addressed me, and, as Beatrice willed, was my wish confessed.

In no dark sayings, such as misled the foolish folk of old, before the Lamb of God who taketh sins away, was slain,

but in clear words, and with precise discourse, answered that love paternal, hidden and revealed by his own smile:

"Contingency, which beyond the sheet of your material stretcheth not, is all limned in the eternal aspect; Cacciaguida

albeit it deriveth not necessity from this, no more than doth the ship that droppeth down the stream from the sight wherein she doth reflect herself.

Thence, as cometh to the ear sweet harmony from an organ, cometh to my sight the time that is in store for thee.

As Hippolytus was severed from Athens by machination of his cruel and perfidious stepmother, so must thou needs sever thee from Florence.

So it is willed, so already plotted, and so shall be accomplished soon, by him who pondereth upon it in the place where Christ, day in day out, is put to sale. Exile

Marte La colpa seguirà la parte offensa
in grido, come suol; ma la vendetta
fia testimonio al ver che la dispensa.

Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
più caramente, e questo è quello strale
che l' arco dello esilio pria saetta.

Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.

E quel che più ti graverà le spalle
sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle,

che tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia
si farà contro a te; ma poco appresso
ella, non tu, n' avrà rossa la tempia.

Di sua bestialitate il suo processo
farà la prova, sì che a te fia bello
l' averti fatta parte per te stesso.

Lo primo tuo rifugio e il primo ostello
sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
che in su la scala porta il santo uccello,

che in te avrà sì benigno riguardo
che del fare e del chieder, tra voi due,
fia primo quel che tra gli altri è più tardo.

Con lui vedrai colui che impresso fue
nascendo sì da questa stella forte,
che notabili fien l' opere sue.

Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte,
per la novella età; chè pur nove anni
son queste rote intorno di lui torte.

Ma pria che il Guasco l' alto Enrico inganni,
parran faville della sua virtute
in non curar d' argento, nè d' affanni.

The blame shall cleave unto the injured side in fame, as is the wont; but vengeance shall bear witness to the truth which doth dispense it. The courageous

Thou shalt abandon everything beloved most dearly; this is the arrow which the bow of exile shall first shoot.

Thou shalt make trial of how salt doth taste another's bread, and how hard the path to descend and mount upon another's stair.

And that which most shall weigh thy shoulders down, shall be the vicious and ill company with which thou shalt fall down into this vale,

for all ungrateful, all mad and impious shall they become against thee; but, soon after, their cheeks, and not thine, shall redden for it.

Of their brutishness their progress shall make proof, so that it shall be for thy fair fame to have made a party for thyself.

Thy first refuge and first hostelry shall be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who on the ladder beareth the sacred bird, Bartolomeo della Scala

for he shall cast so benign regard on thee that of doing and demanding, that shall be first betwixt you two, which betwixt others most doth lag.

With him shalt thou see the one who so at his birth was stamped by this strong star, that notable shall be his deeds. Can Grande

Not yet have folk taken due note of him, because of his young age, for only nine years have these wheels rolled round him.

But ere the Gascon have deceived the lofty Henry, sparkles of his virtue shall appear in carelessness of silver and of toils. Clement and Henry

Marte Le sue magnificenze conosciute 85
saranno ancora, sì che i suoi nimici
non ne potran tener le lingue mute.
A lui t' aspetta ed ai suoi benefici ; 88
per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,
cambiando condizion, ricchi e mendici ;
e porteraine scritto nella mente 91
di lui, ma nol dirai " : e disse cose
incredibili a quei che fien presente.
Poi giunse : " Figlio, queste son le chiose 94
di quel che ti fu detto ; ecco le insidie
che retro a pochi giri son nascose.
Non vo' però ch' a' tuoi vicini invidie, 97
poscia che s' infutura la tua vita
vie più là che il punir di lor perfidie."
Poi che tacendo si mostrò spedita 100
l' anima santa di metter la trama
in quella tela ch' io le porsi ordita,
io cominciai, come colui che brama, 103
dubitando, consiglio da persona
che vede e vuol dirittamente, ed ama :
" Ben veggio, padre mio, sì come sprona 106
lo tempo verso me, per colpo darmi
tal ch' è più grave a chi più s' abbandona ;
per che di provedenza è buon ch' io m' armi 109
sì che, se loco m' è tolto più caro,
io non perdessi gli altri per miei carmi.
Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro, 112
e per lo monte del cui bel cacume
gli occhi della mia donna mi levaro,
e poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume 115
ho io appreso quel che, s' io il ridico,
a molti fia sapor di forte agrume ;

His deeds munificent shall yet be known so that concerning them his very foes shall not be able to keep silent tongues. The courageous

Look to him and to his benefits; by him shall many folk be changed, altering state, the wealthy and the beggars;

and thou shalt bear it written in thy mind of him, but shalt not tell it";—and he told me things past the belief even of who shall see them.

Then he added: "Son, these are the comments on what hath been said to thee; behold the snares that behind but few circlings are hidden.

Yet would I not have thee envious of thy neighbours, since thy life shall be prolonged far beyond the falling of the penalty upon their perfidies."

When by his silence the sacred soul showed he had finished setting of the woof across the warp I had held out in readiness to him,

I began, as he who longeth in doubt for counsel from one who seeth and willeth straight, and loveth:

"Well do I see, my father, how time cometh spurring toward me to give me such a buffet as is heaviest to whoso most abandoneth himself; Dante demandeth counsel

wherefore with foresight it were well to arm me, so that if the dearest place be reft from me, I lose not all the rest by reason of my songs.

Down in the world endlessly bitter, and along the mount from whose fair summit my Lady's eyes uplifted me,

and after, through the heaven from light to light, I have learnt that which if I tell again, will have strong-bitter flavour unto many;

Marte e s' io al vero son timido amico, 118
temo di perder vita tra coloro
che questo tempo chiameranno antico."
La luce in che rideva il mio tesoro, 121
ch' io trovai lì, si fe' prima corrusca,
quale a raggio di sole specchio d' oro ;
indi rispose : " Coscienza fusca 124
o della propria o dell' altrui vergogna,
pur sentirà la tua parola brusca.
Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna, 127
tutta tua vision fa manifesta,
e lascia pur grattar, dov' è la rogna ;
chè, se la voce tua sarà molesta 130
nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento
lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.
Questo tuo grido farà come il vento, 133
che le più alte cime più percote ;
e ciò non fia d' onor poco argomento.
Però ti son mostrate in queste rote, 136
nel monte e nella valle dolorosa,
pur l' anime che son di fama note ;
chè l' animo di quel ch' ode non posa, 139
nè ferma fede per esempio ch' haia
la sua radice incognita e nascosa,
nè per altro argomento che non paia." 142

1-3. Phaeton. The fatal consequences of his father giving him leave to drive the chariot of the Sun still act as a warning to fathers. What he " had heard uttered against himself " was that he was not really Apollo's son.

13-18. Compare vi. 19-21, ii. 43-45 ; also xxix. 12.

22-24. Compare *Inf.* x. 79-81, 121-123 ; xv. 61-78, 88-99 ; xxiv. 142-151 ; and *Purg.* xi. 140, 141 ; and more vaguely *Purg.* viii. 133-139 ; xxiv. 43-47.

40-42. See x. 124-129, *note.*

43. " Thence " =from the " eternal aspect " of line 39.

47. Phædra accused Hippolytus of the sin of which she herself was really guilty. So Florence.

and if to truth I am a shrinking friend, I fear to lose life amongst those who shall call this time ancient." The courageous

The light wherein was smiling my treasure which I there had found, first coruscated as at the sun's rays doth a golden mirror ;

then answered : " Conscience darkened, or by its own or by another's shame, will in truth feel thy utterance grating. Cacciaguida answereth

But none the less, every lie set aside, make thy entire vision manifest, and let them scratch wherever is the scab ;

for if thy voice be grievous at first taste, yet vital nutriment shall it leave thereafter when digested.

This cry of thine shall do as doth the wind, which smiteth most upon the loftiest summits ; and this shall be no little argument of honour.

Therefore have been displayed to thee, in these wheels, upon the mount, and in the dolorous vale, only souls known to fame ;

for the soul of him who heareth resteth not, nor fixeth faith by an example which hath its root unknown and hidden, nor other inconspicuous argument."

49-51. Gardner, i. 4, " The Jubilee," etc.

65, 66. Apparently implying that Dante had broken with the Whites before the " affair of Lastra." Gardner, i. 5, " Benedict XI." ; and Villani, viii. 72.

70-72. Bartolommeo della Scala, Lord of Verona, brother of Can Grande. Gardner, i. 5, " Verona," etc. His arms were an Eagle on a ladder (*scala*).

76-81. Can Grande. Compare *Inf.* i. 100-111.

82-84. Clement V. encouraged Henry VII.'s expedition to Italy, but he was not loyal to him. See xxx. 142-144, and *note*. Also Gardner, i. 6.

PARADISO

DANTE, pondering Cacciaguida's revelation, is roused from his reverie by the consoling words and by the beauty of Beatrice who directs him once again to the spirit of his ancestor (1-21); who names to him some of the warrior saints that shoot, as he speaks, along the cross; and who then himself joins in their hymn (22-51). Dante turns again to Beatrice and sees, by her yet greater beauty, that they have risen into a higher heaven. Then as he looks again upon the star he sees that the white glowing Jupiter has replaced the ruddy Mars (52-69). The spirits here form themselves into successive letters and spell out the opening words of the book of *Wisdom*: "Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth" (70-93).

Marte Già si godeva solo del suo verbo
quello specchio beato, ed io gustava
lo mio, temprando col dolce l' acerbo;
e quella donna, ch' a Dio mi menava, 4
disse: "Muta pensier, pensa ch' io sono
presso a colui ch' ogni torto disgrava."
Io mi rivolsi all' amoroso suono 7
del mio conforto, e quale io allor vidi
nelgi occhi santi amor, qui l' abbandono;
non perch' io pur del mio parlar diffidi, 10
ma per la mente che non può reddire
sopra sè tanto, s' altri non la guidi.
Tanto poss' io di quel punto ridire 13
che, rimirando lei, lo mio affetto
libero fu da ogni altro disire,
fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto 16
raggiava in Beatrice, dal bel viso
mi contentava col secondo aspetto.

CANTO XVIII

Then other spirits gather upon the crest of the last letter, twine round its limbs and insensibly form it into an eagle, the symbol of Roman law and justice (94-114). From this star, then, proceeds our justice. Oh that the divine mind whence it draws its power would once more, in wrath, cleanse the mercenary temple which pollutes its rays! Oh that the chivalry of heaven would pray for the misled world! As for the Pope who makes a traffic of his awful power to grant or withhold Communion, let him think of Peter and Paul! But he will plead that John Baptist, whose image is stamped upon the golden florins, has absorbed all his thoughts (115-136).

The courageous

Already was that blessed mirror rejoicing only in his own discourse, and I was tasting mine, tempering with the sweet the bitter;

and that Lady, who was leading me to God, said: "Change thy thought; think that I am nigh to him who every wrong unloadeth."

Dante and Beatrice

I turned me to the lovesome sound of my comfort, and what love I then beheld within the sacred eyes, I here attempt not;

not because merely I distrust my speech, but for my memory which may not re-ascend so far above itself unless another guide it.

So much anent this point may I retell, that as I gazed upon her my affection was freed from every other longing,

whilst the eternal joy which rayed direct on Beatrice was satisfying me with its reflected aspect from the fair face.

Marte Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso, 19
ella mi disse : " Volgiti ed ascolta,
chè non pur nei miei occhi è Paradiso."
Come si vede qui alcuna volta 22
l' affetto nella vista, s' ello è tanto
che da lui sia tutta l' anima tolta,
così nel fiammeggiar del fulgor santo, 25
a ch' io mi volsi, conobbi la voglia
in lui di ragionarmi ancora alquanto.
Ei cominciò : " In questa quinta soglia 28
dell' arbore, che vive della cima
e frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia,
spiriti son beati, che giù, prima 31
che venissero al ciel, fur di gran voce,
sì ch' ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima.
Però mira nei corni della croce : 34
quello ch'io nomerò, lì farà l' atto
che fa in nube il suo foco veloce."
Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto 37
dal nomar Josuè, com' ei si feo,
nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.
Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo 40
vidi moversi un altro roteando,
e letizia era ferza del paleo.
Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando 43
due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
com' occhio segue suo falcon volando.
Poscia trasse Guglielmo, e Rinoardo, 46
e il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
per quella croce, e Roberto Guiscardo.
Indi, tra l' altre luci mota e mista, 49
mostrommi l' alma che m' avea parlato,
qual era tra i cantor del cielo artista.

O'ercoming me with the light of a smile, she said to me: "Turn thee, and hearken, for not only in my eyes is Paradise." The courageous

As here sometimes we read the affection in the countenance, if it be so great that all the mind is taken up by it,

so in the flaming of the sacred glow to which I turned me, I recognised the will in him yet further somewhat to discourse with me.

He began: "In this fifth range of the tree which liveth from the summit, and ever beareth fruit, and never sheddeth leaf, Cacciaguida

are spirits blessed, who below, ere they came unto heaven, were of a great name, so that every Muse would be enriched by them.

Wherefore gaze upon the horns of the cross; he whom I shall name shall there do the act which in a cloud its swift flame doth."

I saw a light drawn along the cross at the naming of Joshua, as it was done; nor was the word known to me ere the fact. Warriors of God

And at the name of the lofty Maccabee I saw another move, wheeling, and gladness was as the lash unto the whipping-top.

Thus for Charlemagne and for Orlando two more were followed by my keen regard, as the eye followeth its falcon flying.

Then drew my sight along that cross William and Rinoardo and the duke Godfrey, and Robert Guiscard.

Thereon amongst the other lights, moving and mingling, the soul which had discoursed to me showed me his artist quality among heaven's singers. Cacciaguida

Salita Io mi rivolsi dal mio destro lato
per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,
o per parole o per atto segnato ;
e vidi le sue luci tanto mere,
tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza
vinceva gli altri e l' ultimo solere.
E come, per sentir più dilettanza
bene operando, l' uom di giorno in giorno
s' accorge che la sua virtute avanza ;
sì m' accors' io che il mio girare intorno
col cielo insieme avea cresciuto l' arco,
veggendo quel miracol più adorno.
Giove E quale è il trasmutare in picciol varco
di tempo in bianca donna, quando il volto
suo si discarca di vergogna il carco ;
tal fu negli occhi miei, quando fui volto,
per lo candor della temprata stella
sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.
Io vidi in quella giovial facella
lo sfavillar dell' amor che lì era,
segnare agli occhi miei nostra favella.
E come augelli surti di riviera,
quasi congratulando a lor pasture,
fanno di sè or tonda or lunga schiera,
sì dentro ai lumi sante creature
volitando cantavano, e faciensi
or *di*, or *i*, or *elle* in sue figure.
Prima cantando a sua nota moviensi ;
poi diventando l' un di questi segni,
un poco s' arrestavano e taciensi.
O diva Pegasea, che gl' ingegni
fai gloriosi, e rendili longevi,
ed essi teco le cittadi e i regni,

I turned to my right side to see in Beatrice my duty, whether by speech or gesture indicated, The just

and I saw her eyes so clear, so joyous, that her semblance surpassed all former usage and the latest too.

And as by feeling more delight in doing well, man from day to day perceiveth that his virtue gaineth ground;

so did I perceive that my circling round together with the heaven had increased its arc, seeing this miracle yet more adorned. Wider sweep

And such change as cometh in short passage of time over a fair dame, when her countenance unburdeneth shame's burden,

was presented to my eyes, when I turned me, because of the white glow of the temperate sixth star which had received me into it.

I saw in that torch of Jove the sparkling of the love which was therein, signalling to my eyes our speech. The writing in heaven

And as birds, risen from the bank, as though rejoicing together o'er their pasture, make themselves now a round, now a long, flock,

so within the lights the sacred creatures flying sang, and in their shapings made themselves now D, now I, now L.

First singing to their note they moved, then as they made themselves one of these signs, a little space would stay and hold their peace.

O goddess Pegasean, who givest glory unto genius, and renderest it long life, as with thy aid doth it to cities and to realms,

Giove illustrami di te, sì ch' io rilevi
le lor figure com' io l' ho concette :
paia tua possa in questi versi brevi.
Mostrarsi dunque in cinque volte sette
vocali e consonanti ; ed io notai
le parti sì come mi parver dette.
Diligite justitiam, primai
fur verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto ;
qui judicatis terram, fur sezzai.
Poscia nell' *emme* del vocabol quinto
rimasero ordinate, sì che Giove
pareva argento li, d' oro distinto.
E vidi scendere altre luci dove
era il colmo dell' *emme*, e lì quetarsi,
cantando, credo, il ben ch' a sè le move.
Poi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi
surgono innumerabili faville,
onde gli stolti sogliono augurarsi,
risurger parve quindi più di mille
luci, e salir quali assai e quai poco,
sì come il sol, che l' accende, sortille ;
e quietata ciascuna in suo loco,
la testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi
rappresentare a quel distinto foco.
Quei che dipinge lì non ha chi il guidi,
ma esso guida, e da lui si rammenta
quella virtù ch' è forma per li nidi ;
l' altra beatitudo, che contenta
pareva in prima d' ingigliarsi all' *emme*,
con poco moto seguitò la imprenta.
O dolce stella, quali e quante gemme
mi dimostraro che nostra giustizia
effetto sia del ciel che tu ingemme !

make me bright with thyself, that I may throw into relief their figures as I have them in conception; let thy might show in these brief verses. The just

They displayed them then in five times seven vowels and consonants, and I took note of the members, even as they appeared in utterance to me.

Diligite justitiam, were the first verb and substantive of all the picturing; *qui judicatis terram* were the last. The writing

Then ordered in the M of the fifth word they stayed, so that Jove seemed silver in that place, pricked out with gold;

and I saw descending other lights where was the M's peak, and there rest them; singing, I take it, the good that moveth them unto himself. Spirits gathering

Then, as at the smiting of burnt brands there rise innumerable sparks, wherefrom the foolish ones draw augury,

meseemed there rose thence more than a thousand lights, and some mounted much, some little, even as the sun which kindleth them, ordained them;

and when each one had rested in its place, an eagle's head and neck I saw presented by that pricked-out fire. The eagle

He who there painteth hath not one to guide him, but he himself doth guide, and from him cometh to the mind that power which directs the building of nests;

the other blessedness, which at first seemed content to twine the M with lilies, by a slight motion followed the imprint.

O sweet star, what quality and magnitude of gems made plain to me that our justice is the effect of the heaven thou dost engem!

Giove Per ch' io prego la mente, in che s' inizia 118
tuo moto e tua virtute, che rimiri
ond' esce il fummo che il tuo raggio vizia ;
sì ch' un' altra fiata omai s' adiri 121
del comperare e vender dentro al templo,
che si murò di segni e di martiri.
O milizia del ciel, cu' io contemplo, 124
adora per color che sono in terra
tutti sviati retro al malo esempio.
Già si solea con le spade far guerra ; 127
ma or si fa togliendo or qui or quivi
lo pan che il pio padre a nessun serra :
ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi, 130
pensa che Pietro e Paolo, che moriro
per la vigna che guasti, ancor son vivi.
Ben puoi tu dire : " I' ho fermo il disiro 133
sì a colui che volle viver solo,
e che per salti fu tratto al martiro,
ch' io non conosco il Pescator nè Polo." 136

16-19. A disputed passage. We take it : '*I* was, all satisfied, gazing upon the reflection of the light of God which shone from Beatrice's face. But *she* said, smiling,' etc.

46. William of Orange, like Rinoardo and Orlando, is a hero of romance, whereas Godfrey de Bouillon († 1100), conqueror of Jerusalem, and Robert Guiscard († 1085) of the house of Tancred (compare iii. 118, *note*), are entirely historical.

61, 62. Because they had ascended higher.

68. Jupiter is temperate or equable, between cold Saturn and hot Mars. Compare xxii. 145, 146.

82. Pegăsus, the winged horse, struck out the fountain Hippocrēnē from the earth with his hoof, which fountain was sacred to the Muses. Hence the Muse is 'goddess of the spring of Pegasus.'

91-93. *Wisdom of Solomon*, i. 1 (see *Argument*).

94-114. Note that M is the central letter of the Latin and Italian alphabet, which has no W. An M

Wherefore I pray the mind wherein thy motion and thy power hath beginning, to look upon the place whence issueth the smoke that vitiates thy ray; so that once more the wrath be kindled against the buying and the selling in the temple which made its walls of miracles and martyrdoms. The just

O soldiery of heaven, whom I look upon, pray for them who have all gone astray on earth, following the ill example. Appeal to heavenly justice

Erst 'twas the wont to make war with swords; now it is made by withholding, now here, now there, the bread the tender father bars from none;

but thou, who but to cancel, dost record, reflect that Peter and Paul who died for the vineyard thou layest waste, are living yet.

Though thou indeed mayst urge: "I have so fixed my longing on him who lived a solitary life, and by tripping steps was drawn to martyrdom, that I know not the fisherman nor Paul."

of the old fashion (Ω) may with a little ingenuity be transformed into the body and wings of a bird, the head gathering above the centre.

102. The method being to ask, "How many lambs, florins, or what not, shall I get?" then strike a brand and count the sparks for answer.

109-111. Dante is describing the work of God, whom no one can instruct (*Isaiah* xl. 13, 14; *Job* xxxviii. 4 *sqq.*), and from whom all knowledge comes into every mind. But why *nests*? Are the nests the heavens, nestling one within another? Or is the instinct of birds selected as the symbol of all intelligence save the divine?

112. The spirits that had formed neither the limbs of the M nor the head, but had twined round the former, now moulded themselves into the eagle's body and wings.

120-123. The papal court. Cf. *Purg.* xvi. 58-120; and *De Mon.*, bk. i.

130. The cancelling of excommunication being a source of revenue.

THE just Kings, who compose the eagle of Jupiter, speak as one person, just as many brands give out one warmth, so indicating that the work of all righteous governors is one and the same, the voice of all of them being the one voice of justice (1-21). In the heaven of justice, there rises in Dante's mind a passion of hope that he may find the solution of the problem, which so long has tortured him, as to the exclusion of the virtuous heathen from heaven, so contrary in seeming to God's justice. The divine eagle first responds with a burst of triumphant joy, then tells how God's wisdom is in excess of all that the whole creation expresses; and since Lucifer himself, the highest of created things, could not see all (and fell because he would not wait for the full measure of light God would have given him) it follows far more that lesser minds cannot so see but that God sees unutterably deeper. Wherefore our sight must needs be lost in the depths of divine justice, which God's eye alone can pierce. But our very idea of justice is from

Glove Parea dinanzi a me con l' ali aperte
la bella image, che, nel dolce *frui*
liete, facevan l' anime conserte.

Parea ciascuna rubinetto, in cui
raggio di sole ardesse sì acceso,
che nei miei occhi rifrangesse lui.

E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso,
non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,
nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso;

ch' io vidi, ed anche udii parlar lo rostro,
e sonar nella voce ed *io* e *mio*,
quand' era nel concetto *noi* e *nostro*.

E cominciò: " Per esser giusto e pio
son io qui esaltato a quella gloria,
che non si lascia vincere a disio;

CANTO XIX

God, and this thought must quiet Dante's protest as to the exclusion of the virtuous heathen. Who is he that he should judge? There were matter enough for the human mind to boggle at, had we not the authority of Scripture for our guidance, and did we not know that the Will of God is itself the perfect standard of goodness and of justice, not to be called to account by any other standard (22-90). As the little stork (the symbol of obedient docility) looks up, when fed, to the parent bird that wheels over the nest, so Dante gazes on the eagle; which sings a hymn as far above our understanding as God's judgments are (91-99); and then, while reasserting without qualification that belief in Christ is the sole means of access to heaven, yet declares that many heathen will be far nearer Christ on the judgment day than many who call upon his name; whereon follows a long denunciation, in detail, of contemporary Christian monarchs (100-148).

The just

With outstretched wings appeared before me the fair image which those enwoven souls, rejoicing in their sweet fruition, made.

Each one appeared as a ruby whereon the sun's ray should burn, enkindled so as to re-cast it on mine eyes.

And that which I must now rewrite, nor ever voice conveyed, nor ink did write, nor e'er by fantasy was comprehended;

for I saw and also I heard the beak discourse and utter in its voice both *I* and *Mine*, when in conception it was *We* and *Our*.

And it began: "In that I was just and duteous am I here exalted to this glory which suffereth not itself to be surpassed by longing;

Giove ed in terra lasciai la mia memoria 16
sì fatta, che le genti lì malvage
commendan lei, ma non seguon la storia."

Così un sol calor di molte brage 19
si fa sentir, come di molti amori
usciva solo un suon di quella image;

ond' io appresso: "O perpetui fiori 22
dell' eterna letizia, che pur uno
parer mi fate tutti i vostri odori,

solvetemi, spirando, il gran digiuno 25
che lungamente m' ha tenuto in fame,
non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno.

Ben so io che, se in cielo altro reame 28
la divina giustizia fa suo specchio,
che 'l vostro non l' apprende con velame.

Sapete come attento io m' apparecchio 31
ad ascoltar; sapete quale è quello
dubbio, che m' è digiun cotanto vecchio."

Qual il falcon, ch' uscendo del cappello 34
move la testa e coll' ali si plaude,
voglia mostrando e facendosi bello,

vid' io farsi quel segno, che di laude 37
della divina grazia era contesto,
con canti quai si sa chi lassù gaude.

Poi cominciò: "Colui che volse il sesto 40
all' estremo del mondo, e dentro ad esso
distinse tanto occulto e manifesto,

non potè suo valor sì fare impresso 43
in tutto l' universo, che il suo verbo
non rimanesse in infinito eccesso.

E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo, 46
che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,
per non aspettar lume, cadde acerbo:

and upon earth have I left a memory, so fashioned that there the evil folk commend it, though they follow not the tale." The just

So do we feel one glow from many coals as from those many loves there issued forth one only sound out of that image.

Whereon straightway I: "O perpetual flowers of the eternal gladness, ye who make all your odours seem to me but one, Dante

assuage, as ye breathe, the great fast which long hath held me hungering, because on earth I found no food for it.

Well do I know that if the divine justice maketh any other realm of heaven its mirror, yours apprehendeth it without a veil.

Ye know how eager I prepare me to hearken; ye know what is that question which hath been to me a fast of so long date."

As the falcon issuing from the hood shaketh head and clappeth wings, showing his will and making himself beauteous,

such did I see that ensign which was woven of the praises of divine grace, with songs such as be known to whoso up there rejoiceth.

Then it began: "He who rolled the compass round the limit of the universe, and within it marked out so much both hidden and revealed, Creation

could not so stamp his worth on all the universe but that his word remained in infinite excess.

And this is certified by that first proud Being, who was the summit of all creation, because he would not wait for light, falling unripe;

Giove e quinci appar ch' ogni minor natura 49
è corto recettacolo a quel bene
che non ha fine, e sè con sè misura.
Dunque nostra veduta, che conviene 52
essere alcun dei raggi della mente
di che tutte le cose son ripiene,
non può da sua natura esser possente 55
tanto che suo principio non discerna
molto di là, da quel che l' è parvente.
Però nella giustizia sempiterna 58
la vista che riceve il vostro mondo,
com' occhio per lo mar, dentro s' interna ;
chè, benchè dalla proda veggia il fondo, 61
in pelago nol vede, e non di meno
è lì, ma cela lui l' esser profondo.
Lume non è, se non vien dal sereno 64
che non si turba mai, anzi è tenebra,
od ombra della carne, o suo veleno.
Assai t' è mo aperta la latebra, 67
che t' ascondeva la giustizia viva,
di che facei question cotanto crebra ;
chè tu dicevi : ' Un uom nasce alla riva 70
dell' Indo, e quivi non è chi ragioni
di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva ;
e tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni 73
sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
senza peccato in vita o in sermoni.
More non battezzato e senza fede ; 76
ov' è questa giustizia che il condanna ?
ov' è la colpa sua, s' egli non crede ? '
Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna 79
per giudicar da lungi mille miglia
con la veduta corta d' una spanna ?

and hence it is apparent that each lesser nature is a receptacle too scant for that good which hath not end, and itself measureth with itself. The just

Wherefore our sight, which needs must be one of the rays of that mind whereby all things are filled,

cannot of its nature have so great power but that its principle should discern far beyond that which unto it appeareth.

Wherefore in the eternal justice such sight as your world doth receive, like the eye in the ocean, is absorbed ; Divine justice

for, albeit it can see the bottom by the shore, in the open sea it seeth it not, and none the less 'tis there, but the depth hath concealeth it.

There is no light unless from that serene which never is disturbed, else is it darkness or shadow of the flesh, or else its poison.

Enough is opened to thee now the labyrinth which hid from thee the living justice of which thou hast made question so incessantly ;

for thou didst say : 'A man is born upon the bank of Indus and there is none to tell of Christ, nor none to read, nor none to write ; The proble

and all his volitions and his deeds are good so far as human reason seeth, sinless in life or in discourse.

He dieth unbaptised and without faith ; where is that justice which condemneth him ? where is his fault, in that he believes not ?'

Now who art thou who wouldst sit upon the seat to judge at a thousand miles away with the short sight that carries but a span ?

Giove Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia, 82
se la scrittura sopra voi non fosse,
da dubitar sarebbe a maraviglia.

O terreni animali, o menti grosse ! 85
la prima volontà, ch' è per sè buona,
da sè, che è sommo ben, mai non si mosse.

Cotanto è giusto, quanto a lei consuona ; 88
nullo creato bene a sè la tira,
ma essa, radiando, lui cagiona."

Quale sopr' esso il nido si rigira 91
poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,
e come quei ch' è pasto la rimira ;

cotal si fece, e sì levai li cigli, 94
la benedetta imagine, che l' ali
movea sospinta da tanti consigli.

Roteando cantava, e dicea : " Quali 97
son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,
tal è il giudizio eterno a voi mortali."

Poi si quetaron quei lucenti incendi 100
dello Spirito Santo ancor nel segno,
che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi,

esso ricominciò : " A questo regno 103
non salì mai chi non credette in Cristo,
nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno.

Ma vedi, molti gridan ' Cristo, Cristo,' 106
che saranno in giudizio assai men *prope*
a lui, che tal che non conosce Cristo ;

e tai Cristiani dannerà l' Etiope, 109
quando si partiranno i due collegi,
l' uno in eterno ricco, e l' altro inope.

Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi, 112
come vedranno quel volume aperto,
nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi ?

Truly to him who goeth subtly to work with me, were not the Scripture over you, there were marvellous ground for questioning. The just

O animals of earth, minds gross! the primal Will, good in itself, never departed from its own self which is the highest good.

All is just which doth harmonise with it; no created good draweth it to itself, but it by raying forth giveth rise to it." The standard of justice

As right above her nest the stork sweepeth when she hath fed her brood, and as the one which she hath fed looketh up to her;

so did (and so did I uplift my brow) the blessed image, which plied its wings driven by so many counsels.

Wheeling it sang, and said: "As are my notes to thee who understandest them not, such is the eternal judgment to you mortals." The eagle

When those glowing flames of the Holy Spirit were stilled, yet in the ensign which gained the Romans reverence from all the world,

it began again: "To this realm ne'er rose one who believed not in Christ, neither before nor after he was nailed unto the tree.

But see, many cry 'Christ, Christ,' who at the judgment shall be far less near to him than he who knows not Christ;

and such Christians the Ethiop shall condemn when the two colleges shall dispart, the one for ever rich, the other stripped.

What may the Persians say unto your kings when they shall see that volume opened wherein are their dispraises all recorded?

Giove Lì si vedrà tra l' opere d' Alberto
quella che tosto moverà la penna,
per che il regno di Praga fia deserto.
Lì si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
induce, falseggiando la moneta,
quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna.
Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta,
che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle,
sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.
Vedrassi la lussuria e il viver molle
di quel di Spagna, e di quel di Buemme,
che mai valor non conobbe, nè volle.
Vedrassi al Ciotto di Jerusalemme
segnata con un *i* la sua bontate,
quando il contrario segnerà un *emme*.
Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate
di quel che guarda l' isola del foco,
dove Anchise finì la lunga etate ;
ed a dare ad intender quanto è poco,
la sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
che noteranno molto in parvo loco.
E parranno a ciascun l' opere sozze
del barba e del fratel, che tanto egregia
nazione e due corone han fatte bozze.
E quel di Portogallo e di Norvegia
lì si conosceranno, e quel di Rascia
che mal ha visto il conio di Vinegia.
O beata Ungheria, se non si lascia
più malmenare ! E beata Navarra,
se s' armasse del monte che la fascia !
E creder dee ciascun che già, per arra
di questo, Nicosia e Famagosta
per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
che dal fianco dell' altre non si scosta."

There shall be seen amidst the deeds of Albert that one which soon shall move its wing to make the realm of Prague a desert. The just

There shall be seen the woe which he is bringing on the Seine by making false the coinage, who by the wild boar's stroke shall die.

There shall be seen the pride which maketh athirst and doth the Scot and Englishman so madden they may not abide within their proper bound.

The lechery shall be seen and life effeminate of him of Spain, and him of Bohemia, who knew not ever worthiness, nor willed it.

For the Cripple of Jerusalem shall be seen marked with an I, his excellence, whereas an M shall mark the countercharge.

The avarice and baseness shall be seen of him who hath in ward the Isle of Fire where Anchises ended his long life ; Kings of Christendom

and to give to understand how great his paltriness, his record shall be kept in contracted words which shall note much in little space.

And plain to all shall be revealed the foul deeds of his uncle and his brother which have made so choice a family, and two crowns, cuckold.

And he of Portugal and he of Norway there shall be known, and he of Rascia, who in ill hour saw the coin of Venice.

O happy Hungary, if she suffereth herself to be mauled no more! And happy Navarre, were she to arm herself with the mount that fringeth her!

And all should hold that 'tis in pledge of this that Nicosia and Famagosta already wail and shriek by reason of their beast, who doth not part him from beside the others."

25-33. The same problem (see lines 70 *sqq.*) is referred to in the *De Monarchia*, ii. 8: 23-45, as one which the human reason cannot solve unaided, but to the solution of which it can rise by the aid of faith. There is no indication in the *De Monarchia* of the mental anguish which throbs through the appeal in this present passage.

48. Both Lucifer and Adam and Eve sinned not by desiring knowledge that was to be permanently withheld, but by desiring it before the appointed time. "He therefore [the devil] desired something which he had not, and which he ought not to have desired at that time; just as Eve desired to be like the deities before God desired that she should."—Anselm.

52. *Our*. Compare xx. 134-138 & xxi. 91-93. Another reading is *your* (vostra), which seems more germane to the immediate object of the appeal. Compare lines 58-63. But *our* effects the transition from "the summit of all creation" to the mind of earthly man, and beautifully associates the spirits in heaven with those on earth in dependence upon God.

65, 66. *Darkness*, *shadow* of ignorance, *poison* of vice.

88, 89. The context and the comparison of *De Monarchia*, ii. 2, especially lines 50-61, sufficiently explain this passage. Conformity with the will of God is the ultimate test of justice.

112. *Persians*, representing all non-Christians, like the *Ethiopian* of line 109.

115-148. This indiscriminate condemnation of contemporary monarchs is far from being justified in all its details by history. Compare with this passage the parallel in *Purg.* vii. 91-136. The accompanying tables, which might be united into one connected whole, will serve to identify the monarchs referred to.

115-117. The translation personifies Albert's invasion of Bohemia in 1304, but the Italian may equally well be translated: "set the pen (viz. of the Recording Angel) in motion." On Albert, compare *Purg.* vi. 97-117.

119-120. Philip the Fair. Compare *Purg.* vii. 109-111; xx. 85-96, and numerous references to his relations with Clement in the *Comedy* and in the *Epistles*. He debased the coinage to one-third of its value, in order to meet the expenses of his Flemish campaigns in 1302. This is one of several passages in which we

see the horror of tampering with the coinage entertained by Dante, the citizen of the greatest commercial city of Europe. As the symbol of greed the *Florin* was the "accursed flower" of ix. 130, but as the foundation of all commercial relations it was worthy of such reverence that he who tampered with it was to be ranked with him who falsified the very personality of human beings, the ultimate basis of human intercourse. See *Inf.* xxix. (Compare the story told in Villani, vi. 53.)

127–129. Compare ix. 1–6, *note*. One good quality to a thousand bad ones. (I = one, M = 1000.)

130–132. Anchises died at Drepănum in Sicily (the Isle *of fire*, because of Mt. Etna). On Frederick, compare *Purg.* iii. 116, and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 12: 35–42. There was a tradition in Boccaccio's time that Dante had originally intended to dedicate the *Purgatorio* to him, but modern scholars treat it with contempt. If Dante ever really entertained such a purpose, his changed estimate of Frederick was probably caused by the latter's slackness in espousing the imperial cause in opposition to his hereditary foe, Robert of Naples, the head of the Italian Guelfs.

134, 135. The space allotted to the record of so paltry a man being limited, contracted words must be used if room is to be found for all his bad qualities and deeds.

137. James of the Balearic Isles and James of Aragon.

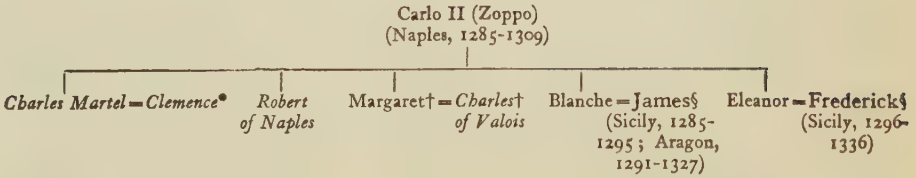
140, 141. Orosius of Rascia issued counterfeit Venetian coins. See map on p. 100.

142. In 1300 Andrew was king of Hungary. He was succeeded by Caroberto (1310–1342), the son of Dante's friend Carlo Martello, whom his uncle Robert had ousted from the Neapolitan succession. (Compare ix. i, *note*.) Hungary had suffered from the evils of a disputed succession and of terrible wars. Happy if she had now seen the end of them!

143–148. Navarre was the separate kingdom of Joanna, wife of Philip the Fair. Happy if she maintained the barrier of the Pyrenees between herself and her great neighbour! The fate of Cyprus under the French dynasty of Lusignan may warn her of her fate should she fall under France.

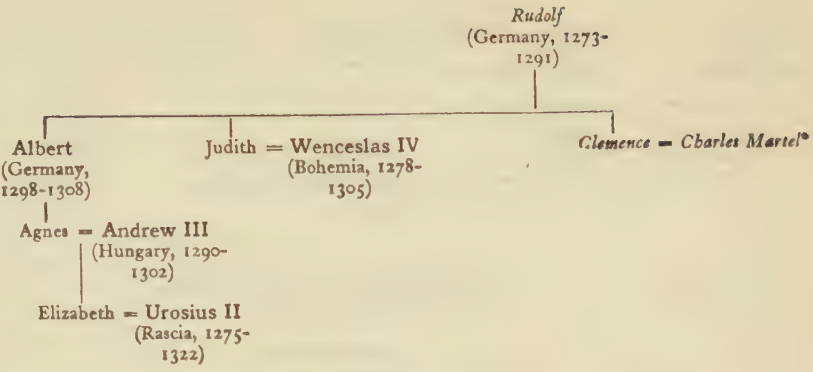
Thick letters indicate persons mentioned in *Paradiso* ***XIX.***
Italics indicate persons mentioned elsewhere by Dante.

TABLE I


Carlo II (Zoppo)
(Naples, 1285-1309)
Charles Martel = Clemence•
Robert of Naples
Margaret† = Charles† of Valois
Blanche = James§ (Sicily, 1285-1295; Aragon, 1291-1327)
Eleanor = Frederick§ (Sicily, 1296-1336)

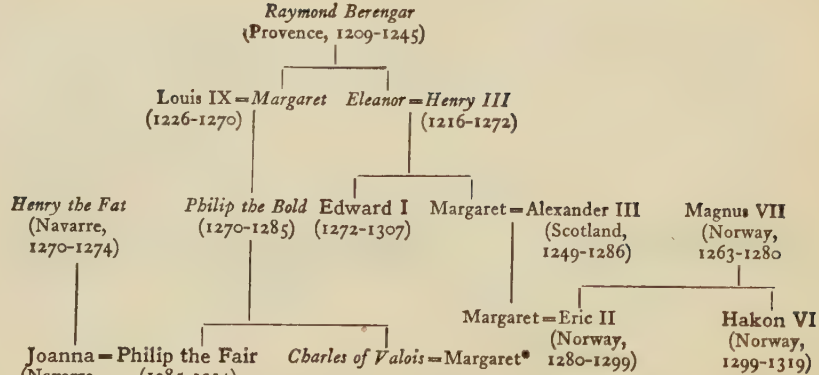
• *See Table II.* † *See Table III.* § *See Table IV.*

TABLE II



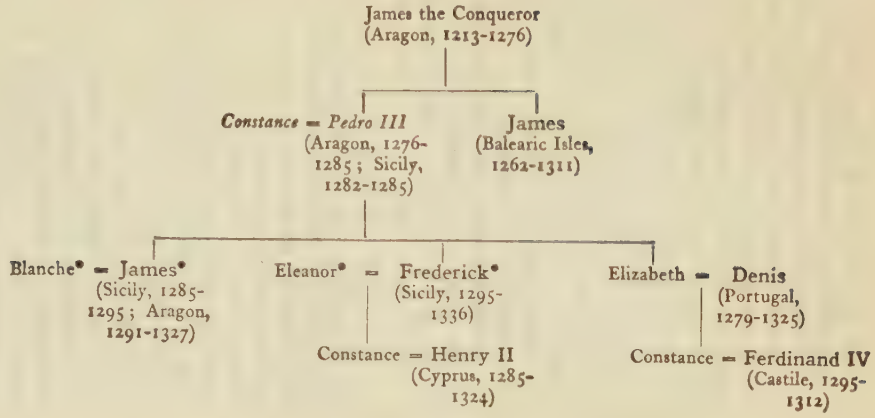
* *See Table I.*

TABLE III



* *See Table I.*

TABLE IV



* *See Table I.*

AS when the one light of the sun disappears, the heaven is straightway rekindled by many stars, so when the one voice of the eagle ceased the many beings that composed it, shining yet more brightly, burst into an angelic chime of many notes, which was followed by a murmuring as of falling waters, gathering once more in the neck of the eagle into a single voice (1-30). The eagle declares that the six lights which form its pupil and eyebrow are the greatest of all, and goes on to enumerate them, using, in most cases, rich and pregnant circumlocution, but expressly naming Ripheus the Trojan, that there may be no room to misconceive a statement so incredible as that he (as well as Trajan, the heathen emperor, already indicated by a paraphrase not to be misunderstood) is in heaven (31-72). Then once more the eagle bursts into rapturous song, and when it pauses, Dante, though he knows that the spirits read his inmost thoughts as we on earth see colour through a sheet of glass, yet can-

Giove Quando colui che tutto il mondo alluma
dell' emisperio nostro sì discende,
che il giorno d' ogni parte si consuma,
lo ciel, che sol di lui prima s' accende, 4
subitamente si rifà parvente
per molte luci, in che una risplende.
E quest' atto del ciel mi venne a mente, 7
come il segno del mondo e dei suoi duci
nel benedetto rostro fu tacente ;
però che tutte quelle vive luci, 10
vie più lucenti, cominciaron canti
da mia memoria labili e caduci.
O dolce amor, che di riso t' ammanti, 13
quanto parevi ardente in quei flailli
ch' avieno spirto sol di pensier santi !

not restrain the utterance of his amazement at the presence of these two heathen (73-84); whereon the eagle declares that both of them died in the true faith, Ripheus in Christ to come and Trajan in Christ come; and so explains the former case as to suggest that revelations may have been vouchsafed to other righteous pagans (85-129). So little do men fathom the divine counsels! Nay, the redeemed souls, as they look on God, know not yet who shall be the saved; and in this very limitation of their knowledge they rejoice, for it is a point of conscious contact with the will of God (130-138). Thus, as the souls of Trajan and Ripheus glint responsive to the eagle's discourse, Dante receives sweet solace partly from the thought that he knows not, after all, how many of the supposed heathen are in truth saved, and partly from the spectacle of the souls in bliss rejoicing in the limitations of their knowledge no less than in its conquests (139-148).

The just

When he who doth illumine all the world descendeth so far from our hemisphere that day on every side is done away,

the heaven which before is kindled by him only, now straightway maketh itself reappear by many lights wherein the one re-gloweth.

And this act of heaven came to my mind when the ensign of the world and of its leaders within its blessed beak was silent;

because all those living lights, far brightlier shining, began songs which from my memory must slip and fall.

O sweet love, smile-bemantled, how glowing didst thou seem in those flute-holes breathed on only by sacred ponderings!

Giove Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli,
ond' io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume,
poser silenzio agli angelici squilli,
udir mi parve un mormorar di fiume,
che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra,
mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.
E come suono al collo della cetra
prende sua forma, e sì come al pertugio
della sampogna vento che penetra,
così, rimosso d' aspettare indugio,
quel mormorar dell' aquila salissi
su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.
Fecesi voce quivi, e quindi uscissi
per lo suo becco in forma di parole,
quali aspettava il core, ov' io le scrissi.
" La parte in me che vede, e pate il sole
nell' aquile mortali," incominciommi,
" or fisamente riguardar si vuole,
perchè dei fochi, ond' io figura fommi,
quelli, onde l' occhio in testa mi scintilla,
e' di tutti i lor gradi son li sommi.
Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla,
fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
che l' arca traslatò di villa in villa :
ora conosce il merto del suo canto,
in quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,
per lo remunerar ch' è altrettanto.
Dei cinque, che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
colui, che più al becco mi s' accosta,
la vedovella consolò del figlio :
ora conosce quanto caro costa
non seguir Cristo, per l' esperienza
di questa dolce vita e dell' opposta.

When the dear and shining stones, whereby I saw the sixth heaven gemmed, had imposed silence on the angelic chimes, The just

meseemed to hear the murmuring of a river which droppeth clear from rock to rock and showeth the abundance of its source.

And as the sound taketh its form in the lute-neck, or at the opening of the pipes the wind that entereth,

so, delay of expectation done away, that murmuring of the eagle rose up through its neck as it were hollow;

there it became a voice and issued thence, out from its beak, in form of words, such as the heart awaited, whereon I wrote them. The eagle

"That part in me which seeth and which doth endure the sun in mortal eagles," it began to say to me, "must now fixedly be gazed upon,

for of the fires wherefromout I make my figure, those with which the eye sparkleth in my head, of all their ranks are chief.

He who shineth midmost, as in the eye the pupil, was the singer of the Holy Spirit who bore the ark from city unto city; David

now knoweth he the merit of his song, in so far as 'twas the effect of his own counsel, by the remuneration like unto it.

Of the five who make the eyebrow's arch, he who doth neighbour closest on the beak consoled the widow for her son; Trajan

now knoweth he how dear it costs not to follow Christ, by his experience of this sweet life and of the opposite.

Giove E quel che segue in la circonferenza,
di che ragiono, per l' arco superno,
morte indugiò per vera penitenza :
ora conosce che il giudizio eterno
non si trasmuta, perchè degno preco
fa crastino laggiù dell' odierno.
L' altro che segue, con le leggi e meco,
sotto buona intenzion che fe' mal frutto,
per cedere al pastor si fece Greco :
ora conosce come il mal, dedutto
dal suo bene operar, non gli è nocivo,
avvegna che sia il mondo indi distrutto.
E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo
Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora
che piange Carlo e Federico vivo :
ora conosce come s' innamora
lo ciel del giusto rege, ed al sembiante
del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.
Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errante,
che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo
fosse la quinta delle luci sante ?
ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo
veder non può della divina grazia,
benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo."
Quale allodetta che in aere si spazia
prima cantando, e poi tace, contenta
dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia,
tal mi sembiò l' imago della imprenta
dell' eterno piacere, al cui disio
ciascuna cosa, quale ell' è, diventa.
Ed avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio
lì quasi vetro allo color che il veste,
tempo aspettar tacendo non patio ;

And he who followeth on the circumference whereof I tell, upon the upper arch, death did delay by his true penitence ; The just. Hezekiah

now knoweth he that the eternal judgment is not transmuted when a worthy prayer giveth unto to-morrow upon earth what was for to-day.

The next who followeth, with the laws and me, with good intention that bore evil fruit, to give place to the pastor, made himself a Greek; Constantine

now knoweth he that the ill deduced from his good deed hurteth not him though the world be destroyed thereby.

And him thou seest on the down-sloping arch was William, whom that land deploreth which weepeth for that Charles and Frederick live ; William of Sicily

now knoweth he how heaven is enamoured of the righteous king, and by the semblance of his glow he maketh it yet seen.

Who would believe, down in the erring world, the Trojan Ripheus in this circle to be the fifth of the holy lights ? Ripheus

now knoweth he right much of the divine grace that the world hath no power to see, albeit his sight discerneth not the bottom."

Like to the lark who soareth in the air, first singing and then silent, content with the last sweetness that doth sate her,

so seemed to me the image of the imprint of the eternal pleasure, by longing for whom each thing becometh what it is.

And albeit there I was to my questioning like glass unto the colour which it clothes, yet would it not endure to bide its time in silence ;

Giove ma della bocca : " Che cose son queste ? " 82
mi pinse con la forza del suo peso ;
per ch' io di corruscar vidi gran feste.
Poi appresso con l' occhio più acceso 85
lo benedetto segno mi rispose,
per non tenermi in ammirar sospeso :
" Io veggio che tu credi queste cose, 88
perch' io le dico, ma non vedi come ;
sì che, se son credute, sono ascose.
Fai come quei, che la cosa per nome 91
apprende ben ; ma la sua quiditate
veder non può, se altri non la prome.
Regnum coelorum violenza pate 94
da caldo amore e da viva speranza,
che vince la divina volontate ;
non a guisa che l' uomo all' uom sopranza, 97
ma vince lei, perchè vuole esser vinta,
e vinta vince con sua beninanza.
La prima vita del ciglio e la quinta 100
ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi
la region degli angeli dipinta.
Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi, 103
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi.
Chè l' una dello inferno, u' non si riede 106
giammai a buon voler, tornò all' ossa,
e ciò di viva speme fu mercede ;
di viva speme, che mise la possa 109
nei preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla,
sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L' anima gloriosa, onde si parla, 112
tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
credette in lui che poteva aiutarla :

but from my mouth: "What things are these?" it thrust by force of its own weight, whereat I saw great glee of coruscation. The just. Dante

Then straightway, with its eye more kindled, the blessed ensign answered me, that it might not hold me in suspense of wonder:

"I see that thou believest these things because I tell them thee, but the *how* thou seest not; so that, although believed, yet are they hidden. Eagle

Thou art as he who doth apprehend the thing by name, but may not see its quiddity unless another bring it forth to light.

The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence from warm love and living hope which conquereth the divine will;

not in fashion wherein man subdueth man, but conquereth it because it willeth to be conquered, and, conquered, with its own benignity doth conquer.

The first life of the eyebrow and the fifth set thee a-marvelling, because thou seest the region of the angels painted with them. Trajan and Ripheus

From their bodies they issued not, as thou supposest, Gentiles, but Christians in established faith, in the feet that—to the one—should suffer, and—to the other—had already suffered.

For the one from hell,—where none returneth ever to right will,—came back unto its bones, and this was the reward of living hope;

the living hope which put might into the prayers made unto God to raise him up, that his will might have power to be moved. Gregory

The glorious soul, whereof is the discourse, returning to the flesh where it abode short space, believed in him who had the power to aid it;

Giove e credendo s' accese in tanto foco
di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda
fu degna di venire a questo gioco.
L' altra, per grazia, che da sì profonda
fontana stilla che mai creatura
non pinse l' occhio infino alla prim' onda,
tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura ;
per che, di grazia in grazia, Dio gli aperse
l' occhio alla nostra redenzion futura :
onde credette in quella, e non sofferse
da indi il puzzo più del paganesmo,
e riprendiene le genti perverse.
Quelle tre donne gli fur per battesmo,
che tu vedesti dalla destra rota,
dinanzi al battezzar più d' un millesmo.
O predestinazion, quanto remota
è la radice tua da quegli aspetti
che la prima cagion non veggion *tota* !
E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti
a giudicar, chè noi, che Dio vedemo,
non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti ;
ed enne dolce così fatto scemo,
perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s' affina,
chè quel che vuole Iddio e noi volemo."
Così da quella imagine divina,
per farmi chiara la mia corta vista,
data mi fu soave medicina.
E come a buon cantor buon citarista
fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
in che più di piacer lo canto acquista ;
sì, mentre che parlò, sì mi ricorda
ch' io vidi le due luci benedette,
pur come batter d' occhi si concorda,
con le parole mover le fiammette.

and believing, kindled into so great flame of very love, that at the second death it was worthy to come unto this rejoicing. The just

The other, by that grace which welleth from so deep a fountain that never creature thrust eye down to its first wave,

set all his love below on righteousness, wherefore from grace to grace God opened his eye to our redemption yet to come;

whereat he believed therein, and thenceforth endured not the mire of paganism, and reproved the folk perverse concerning it.

Those three dames stood as baptism for him, whom thou didst see at the right wheel, more than a thousand years before baptising.

O predestination, how far withdrawn is thy root from such vision as sees not the first cause entire! Predestination

And ye mortals, hold yourselves straitly back from judging; for we who see God, know not as yet all the elect;

and sweet to us is such defect because our good in this good is refined, that what God willeth we also will."

So by this divine image to clear my curtailed vision was given me sweet medicine.

And as on a good singer a good harpist maketh the quivering of the chord attend, wherein the song gaineth more pleasantness,

so whilst he spake I mind me that I saw the two blessed lights, just as the winking of the eyes concordeth, making their flames to quiver to the words.

6. It was the general belief that the light of all the stars was reflected from the Sun.

13-15. A much-disputed passage. It is taken in the translation to mean, 'As the flute is played on by the breath of the musician, so these spirits were played upon by their own holy thoughts, wherein that same divine love which clad them with the smiling brightness of joy, breathed upon them.'

41. Contains by implication Dante's doctrine of inspiration. The human instrument of the Divine Spirit has a genuine part to play.

43-45. Compare *Purg.* x. 73-93.

51. 2 *Kings* xx. 1-11.

55-60. The donation of Constantine, called by Bryce "the most stupendous of all mediæval forgeries," set forth how Constantine, when cured of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester, resolved to transfer his capital to Constantinople ("made himself a Greek") in order to leave to the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy. Dante, while accepting the supposed fact, regarded it as one of the most disastrous events of history. (Compare *Inf.* xix. 115-117; *Purg.* xxxii. 124-129.) He warmly maintained that the donation was invalid, since the Emperor could not alienate, nor the Pope receive, temporal power. (*De Monarchia*, iii. 10, etc. Compare Gardner, iii. 1, under "Book iii.")

61-66. William the Good (1166-1189) was the last king of the house of Tancred who reigned over the "Two Sicilies." See iii. 118-120, ix. 1-6, *notes*; and Tables i. and iv. on pp. 240, 243. The kingdom of Naples, under Charles II., and the kingdom of Sicily, under Frederick, bewail him.

68. *Ripheus.* Virgil calls him "the one man amongst the Trojans most just and observant of the right." *Æneid*, ii. 426 *sq.*

76-78. The imprint of the eternal pleasure probably means *justice.* By longing for God everything becomes its true self.

81. *it* = "my questioning."

92. *Quiddity* = the "what-ness" of a thing, as *quality* is the "what-like-ness" of it. 'You know the name of a thing, but know not what the thing is.'

103-105. Ripheus had faith in the crucified feet that were to be, Trajan in the crucified feet that had been.

106-108. Repentance or change of will, in hell, was so inconceivable, that even when the divine prerogative overrode the decree, it was thought of as acting not to change the will in hell, but to bring back the soul to the body, that the will might be changed on earth.

109-111. Thomas Aquinas repeatedly refers to the story of Gregory and Trajan. He says: "Damascenus [† before 754] . . . tells how Gregory, when pouring out prayer for Trajan, heard a voice borne to him from heaven: *I have heard thy voice and I grant pardon to Trajan;* to which fact, . . . the whole East and West is witness." In discussing prayer and predestination, he declares that prayer cannot alter the divine will, but may be the appointed instrument for its accomplishment; and declares that "though Trajan was in the place of the reprobate, yet he was not reprobate himself in the absolute sense, since he was predestined to be saved by Gregory's prayers." Gregory himself [Pope, 590-606] is emphatic on the futility of prayer for the damned. "The saints pray not for the unbelieving and impious defunct, because they shrink from the merit of their prayers, for those whom they already know to be damned to eternal punishment, being annulled before that countenance of the righteous Judge."

118-123. The principle implied in this passage opens the door through which Cato enters heaven. (Compare *Purg.* i. 31-75, and the obvious symbolism of 37-39.) There is a remarkable passage in which Aquinas says: "A man may prepare himself by what is contained in natural reason for receiving faith. Wherefore it is said that if anyone born in barbarous nations do what lieth in him, God will reveal to him that which is necessary for salvation, either by inspiration or by sending a teacher." Perhaps Dante's own mind dwelt increasingly on this conception. The tradition which told how Paul wept over Virgil's tomb at Naples may have been taken as specific evidence that Virgil was not one of the heathen thus saved.

127. Faith, Hope and Charity. See *Purg.* xxix. 121-129.

PARADISO

BEATRICE and Dante have risen to Saturn, now in the constellation of Leo, and there Beatrice smiles not (lest her beauty should shatter Dante's mortal senses as Jove's undisguised presence burned Semele to ashes) but bids him gaze upon that which shall be revealed to him (1-18). The joy it gives him to obey her behests is compensation even for the withdrawal of his eyes from her countenance, whereon they feasted; and he sees the golden Jacob's ladder stretch up from Saturn; while a throng of splendours descends, as though all heaven had been emptied, and splashes in light upon a certain step of the ladder (19-42). Dante addresses the light that arrests itself nearest to him, first with silent thought, then, when Beatrice gives him leave, with open speech; and asks why he more than others has approached him, and why the harmony of heaven is no longer heard (43-60). The spirit answers that Dante's senses are not yet sufficiently inured to bear the divine music in this higher sphere; and that he has approached to welcome him not because he has greater love than others, but because the divine love, to which all eagerly respond, has assigned that office to him (61-72). Dante, though satisfied by the answer

Salita Già eran gli occhi miei rifissi al volto
della mia donna, e l' animo con essi,
e da ogni altro intento s' era tolto;
Saturno e quella non ridea, ma: " S' io ridessi,"
mi cominciò, " tu ti faresti quale
fu Semelè, quando di cener fessi;
chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
com' hai veduto, quanto più si sale,

within its limits, yet pushes his demand further and asks why God assigned this office just to his interlocutor and no other (73-78). Hereon the spirit whirls and glows, rapt into such immediate and intense communion with God as to see his very essence, and yet declares that neither he nor the highest of the Seraphim sees the answer to this question, which lies unfathomably deep in the being of God. Let Dante warn the world, with its smoke-dimmed faculties, not to presume henceforth to attempt a problem which even in heaven is insoluble (79-102). Appalled by this reply, Dante now bashfully requests to know who it is that has thus checked his presumptuous enquiry, and he learns that it is Peter Damiani, who called himself Peter the Sinner, and who had dwelt in the now degenerate convent of Fonte Avellana, and in that of S. Maria in Pomposa (103-123). In connection with his reception, shortly before his death, of the Cardinal's hat he denounces the pomp and obesity of the Church dignitaries, whereupon there comes whirling down a throng of flames that group themselves round him and raise a cry which so stuns Dante that he understands not what it says (124-142).

The contemplative

Already were mine eyes fixed on my Lady's countenance again, and my mind with them, from all other intent removed;

and she smiled not, but: "Were I to smile," she began, "thou wouldst be such as was Semele, when she turned to ashes;

for my beauty, which, along the steps of the eternal palace kindleth more, as thou hast seen, the higher the ascent,

Saturno se non si temperasse, tanto splende, 10
che il tuo mortal potere, al suo fulgore,
sarebbe fronda che tuono scoscende.

Noi sem levati al settimo splendore, 13
che sotto il petto del Leone ardente
raggia mo misto giù del suo valore.

Ficca di retro agli occhi tuoi la mente, 16
e fa di quelli specchi alla figura,
che in questo specchio ti sarà parvente."

Chi sapesse qual era la pastura 19
del viso mio nell' aspetto beato,
quand' io mi trasmutai ad altra cura,

conoscerebbe quanto m' era a grato 22
ubbidire alla mia celeste scorta,
contrappesando l' un con l' altro lato.

Dentro al cristallo, che il vocabol porta, 25
cerchiando il mondo, del suo chiaro duce,
sotto cui giacque ogni malizia morta,

di color d' oro, in che raggio traluce, 28
vid' io uno scaleo eretto in suso
tanto, che nol seguiva la mia luce.

Vidi anche per li gradi scender giuso 31
tanti splendor, ch' io pensai ch' ogni lume
che par nel ciel quindi fosse diffuso.

E come, per lo natural costume, 34
le pole insieme, al cominciar del giorno,
si movono a scaldar le fredde piume;

poi altre vanno via senza ritorno, 37
altre rivolgon sè, onde son mosse,
ed altre roteando fan soggiorno:

tal modo parve a me che quivi fosse 40
in quello sfavillar che insieme venne,
sì come in certo grado si percosse;

were it not tempered, so doth glow as that thy mortal power, at its flash, would be like foliage that the thunder shattereth. The contemplative

We have arisen to the seventh splendour, which, underneath the bosom of the glowing Lion, down-rayeth now mingling with its power.

Fix thy mind after thine eyes, and make of them mirrors to the figure which in this mirror shall be shown unto thee."

Whoso should know what was the pasture of my sight in the blessed aspect when I changed me to another care,

would recognise how much it was my joy to be obedient to my heavenly guide, weighing the one against the other side.

Within the crystal which doth bear the name, circling the world, of its illustrious leader, beneath whom every wickedness lay dead, Jacob's ladder

coloured like gold which doth recast the ray, I saw a ladder erected upward so far that my sight might not follow it.

I saw, moreover, descend upon the steps so many splendours that methought every light which shineth in the heaven had been thence poured down.

And as, after their nature's way, the daws at the beginning of the day set out in company to warm their chilled feathers;

then some go off without return, others come again to whence they started, and others make a wheeling sojourn;

such fashion, meseemed, was in that sparkling which came in company, soon as it smote upon a certain step,

Saturno e quel che presso più ci si ritenne, 43
si fe' sì chiaro, ch' io dicea pensando :
" Io veggio ben l' amor che tu m' accenne.
Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come e il quando 46
del dire e del tacer, si sta, ond' io
contra il disio fo ben ch' io non domando."
Perch' ella, che vedeva il tacer mio 49
nel veder di colui che tutto vede,
mi disse : " Solvi il tuo caldo disio."
Ed io incominciai : " La mia mercede 52
non mi fa degno della tua risposta,
ma per colei che il chieder mi concede,
vita beata, che ti stai nascosta 55
dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota
la cagion che sì presso mi t' ha posta ;
e di' perchè si tace in questa rota 58
la dolce sinfonia di paradiso,
che giù per l' altre sona sì devota."
" Tu hai l' udir mortal, sì come il viso," 61
rispose a me ; " onde qui non si canta
per quel che Beatrice non ha riso.
Giù per li gradi della scala santa 64
discesi tanto, sol per farti festa
col dire e con la luce che m' ammanta :
nè più amor mi fece esser più presta, 67
chè più e tanto amor quinci su ferve,
sì come il fiammeggiar ti manifesta ;
ma l' alta carità, che ci fa serve 70
pronte al consiglio che il mondo governa,
sorteggia qui, sì come tu osserve."
" Io veggio ben," diss' io, " sacra lucerna, 73
come libero amore in questa corte
basta a seguir la provvidenza eterna :

and the one which abode nighest to us became so bright that in my thought I said : " I do perceive the love which thou art signalling unto me. But she from whom I wait the how and when of speech and silence, pauses, and therefore I, counter to my desire, do well not to demand." Whereat she, who saw my silence in his sight who seeth all, said to me : " Loose thy warm desire." The contemplative

And I began : " My merit maketh me not worthy of thy response, but for her sake who granteth me to make request, Dante

O blessed life, who abidest hidden in thy gladness, make known to me the cause which so nigh to me hath placed thee ;

and say, wherefore in this wheel the sweet symphony of Paradise keepeth silence, which below throughout the others soundeth so devoutly."

" Thou hast the hearing, as the sight, of mortals," he answered me ; " wherefore here is no song for that same reason for which Beatrice hath not smiled. Peter Damian

Down by the steps of the sacred ladder I so far descended only to do thee joyance with speech and with the light which mantleth me ;

nor was it greater love that made me swifter ; for more and so much love up there doth burn, as the flashing maketh plain to thee ;

but the deep love which holdeth us prompt servants of the counsel which governeth the world, maketh assignment here as thou observest."

" Yea, I perceive, O sacred lamp," said I, " how free love in this court sufficeth to make follow the eternal providence ; Dante

Saturno ma quest' è quel ch' a cerner mi par forte, 76
perchè predestinata fosti sola
a questo ufficio tra le tue consorte."
Nè venni prima all' ultima parola, 79
che del suo mezzo fece il lume centro,
girando sè, come veloce mola.
Poi rispose l' amor che v' era dentro : 82
" Luce divina sopra me s' appunta,
penetrando per questa ond' io m' inventro ;
la cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta, 85
mi leva sopra me tanto, ch' io veggio
la somma essenza della quale è munta.
Quinci vien l' allegrezza, ond' io fiammeggio; 88
perchè alla vista mia, quant' ella è chiara,
la chiarità della fiamma pareggio.
Ma quell' alma nel ciel che più si schiara, 91
quel Serafin che in Dio più l' occhio ha fisso,
alla domanda tua non satisfara ;
però che sì s' inoltra nell' abisso 94
dell' eterno statuto quel che chiedi,
che da ogni creata vista è scisso.
Ed al mondo mortal, quando tu riedi, 97
questo rapporta, sì che non presuma
a tanto segno più mover li piedi.
La mente che qui luce, in terra fuma ; 100
onde riguarda come può laggiùe
quel che non puote, perchè il ciel l' assuma."
Sì mi prescrisser le parole sue, 103
ch' io lasciai la questione, e mi ritrassi
a domandarla umilmente chi fue.
" Tra due liti d' Italia surgon sassi, 106
e non molto distanti alla tua patria,
tanto che i tuoni assai suonan più bassi,

but this it is, which seemeth me hard to discern : wherefore thou alone amongst thy consorts wast predestined to this office." The contemplative

Nor had I come to the last word, ere the light made his mid point a centre, and whirled himself like to a swift millstone.

Then answered the love that was therein : "The divine light doth focus it on me, piercing into that wherein I am embowelled ; Peter Damiani

the power whereof, conjoined unto my sight, uplifteth me above myself so far that I perceive the supreme essence whence it is milked.

Thence cometh the joy wherewith I flame ; for to my sight, even as it is clear, the brightness of the flame do I equate.

But that soul in heaven which is most illuminated, that Seraph who hath his eye most fixed on God, had given no satisfaction to thy question ;

because so far within the abyss of the eternal statute lieth the thing thou askest, that from all created vision it is cut off. The abysmal mystery

And to the mortal world, when thou returnest, take this report, that it presume not more to move its feet toward so great a goal.

The mind which shineth here, on earth doth smoke, and therefore think how it should have power there below, which it hath not even though heaven take it to itself."

Such limits did his words impose on me, I left the question, and restrained me to demanding humbly who himself was.

" 'Twixt the two shores of Italy crags arise, and not far distant from thy fatherland, so high the thunders sound far lower down,

Saturno e fanno un gibbo, che si chiama Catria, 109
di sotto al quale è consecrato un ermo,
che suol esser disposto a sola latria."
Così ricominciommi il terzo sermo, 112
e poi, continuando, disse: "Quivi
al servigio di Dio mi fei sì fermo,
che pur con cibi di liquor d' ulivi, 115
lievemente passava caldi e gieli,
contento nei pensier contemplativi.
Render solea quel chiostro a questi cieli 118
fertilemente, ed ora è fatto vano,
sì che tosto convien che si riveli.
In quel loco fu' io Pier Damiano; 121
e Pietro peccator fui nella casa
di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adriano.
Poca vita mortal m' era rimasa, 124
quando fui chiesto e tratto a quel cappello,
che pur di male in peggio si travasa.
Venne Cephas, e venne il gran vasello 127
dello Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi,
prendendo il cibo di qualunque ostello.
Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi 130
li moderni pastori, e chi li meni,
tanto son gravi, e chi di retro gli alzi.
Copron dei manti loro i palafreni, 133
sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle:
o pazienza, che tanto sostieni!"
A questa voce vid' io più fiammelle 136
di grado in grado scendere e girarsi,
ed ogni giro le facea più belle.
Dintorno a questa vennero, e fermarsi, 139
e fero un grido di sì alto suono,
che non potrebbe qui assimigliarsi;
nè io lo intesi, sì mi vinse il tuono. 142

and make a hump whose name is Catria, 'neath which a hermitage is consecrate, which erst was given only unto prayer." The contemplative

So he began to me again the third discourse, and then continuing, said : " There in God's service I became so rooted

that only with olive-juice viands I lightly traversed heat and cold, satisfied in thoughts contemplative.

That cloister erst bore ample fruit unto these heavens, and is now become so futile, that ere long needs must it be revealed. Fonte Avellana

I, Peter of Damian, was in that same place ; and I, Peter the Sinner, was in the house of Our Lady on the Adriatic shore.

Little of mortal life was left to me when I was called and drawn unto the hat which doth but pass from bad receptacle to worse.

Cephas came, and the great vessel of the Holy Spirit came, lean and unshod, taking their food from every hostelry.

Now the modern pastors must needs be buttressed on this side and on that, and have one to lead them on, so heavy are they, and one to hoist behind. Modern prelates

With their mantles they o'erspread their palfreys, so that two beasts travel beneath one hide ; O patience, that so much endureth ! "

At this voice I saw more flames from step to step descend and whirl, and every whirl made them more beauteous.

Around this one they came and stayed themselves, and raised a cry of so deep sound that here it may not find similitude ; nor did I understand it, so vanquished me the thunder.

24. The joy of contemplation against that of obedience.

25-27. Saturn reigned in the age of gold, which is identified by the classical poets with the age of absolute simplicity and temperance.

43. This is the spirit of Peter Damiani († 1072). The poverty of his parents induced them to expose him as an infant; but he was rescued, and after much hardship was educated by his brother Damian, in gratitude to whom he took the surname of "Damian's Peter." He was made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1058. He is best known for his unsparing castigation of the corrupt morals of the monks of his day.

84. 'The light in the centre of which I dwell.'

87. God.

89, 90. Compare xiv. 40, 41.

106-111. The monastery of Fonte Avellana upon the Apennines.

115. Lenten fare, cooked with olive oil, not lard or butter.

121-123. A vexed passage. The reading of line 122 is doubtful. If we read *fui* = "I was," the two Peters are to be identified. If we read *fu*, = "he was," they are to be distinguished. Reading *fu*, we must identify Peter the sinner with Peter degli Onesti who founded the church of Santa Maria del Porto, near Ravenna, in accomplishment of a vow, about A.D. 1096. He lived in a little house adjoining the church till his death in 1119. His tomb may still be seen in the church, and he is described upon it as *Petrus Peccans*. The meaning would then be: 'I, Damian's Peter, was in Fonte Avellana, whereas Petrus Peccans dwelt by Santa Maria del Porto, and is another man.' In this case Dante intended the lines expressly to guard against the confusion between the two Peters. But the passage so read seems somewhat frigid.

Now Peter Damiani also was in the constant habit of calling himself *Petrus Peccator*. It seems extremely improbable that Dante was ignorant of this; and if he knew it, he certainly would not have used this designation expressly to distinguish Peter Damiani from another Peter. The best editors, then, are probably right in reading *fui*, and identifying the Pietro Damiani

of line 121 and the Pietro Peccator of line 122. But this does not end the difficulty. Did Dante confound the Pietro degli Onesti, buried in Santa Maria del Porto, with Peter Damiani, and did he mean to say: 'I went by the name of Peter Damiani in Fonte Avellana, but by the name of Petrus Peccator in the hermitage of Santa Maria del Porto'? This seems extremely improbable. Dante can hardly have confounded the two Peters. Moreover, Peter Damiani used the signature *Petrus Peccator* when he was in Fonte Avellana as well as elsewhere, and we may be sure that Dante would not have gone out of his way to make so precise a statement about the different appellations for the same man in different places when he could not have ascertained it to be true. There is a third hypothesis suggested by a passage in the *Breviarium Romanum*, which, after recording Peter Damiani's reception into Fonte Avellana, says that not long afterwards "he was sent by his abbot on a mission to the monastery of Pomposa, and afterwards to the convent of St Vincent of Petra Pertusa," both of which he reformed. Now this monastery of Pomposa, "which is situated on a small island at the mouth of the Po, near Commachio" (Toynbee), was a convent of Santa Maria, and is so described by Peter Damiani himself. Moreover, it has recently been shown that Peter Damiani spent two years there. Probably, therefore, the reference in lines 122, 123 is to this monastery rather than to the hermitage of Santa Maria del Porto. But even then there remains a great difficulty of translation. One of the suggestions made is grammatically admissible, but poetically worse than impossible. 'I dwelt there, Peter Damiani, also known as Petrus Peccator. I once visited the monastery of Pomposa.' On the other hand, the translation offered in the text supposes so awkward a construction that it may well be open to doubt. Fortunately (if we accept the reading *fui* and take the monastery to be Pomposa) the sense, if not the construing, is clear.

124-126. The cardinal's hat.

127, 128. Peter (*John* i. 42) and Paul (*Acts* ix. 15).

PARADISO

BEATRICE soothes and reassures Dante in his terror, and tells him of the divine vengeance, invoked in the cry he has heard (1-18). She bids him look again upon the lights of Saturn; and the brightest amongst them then advances to him, encourages him to trust in the affection of the spirits that surround him, and answers his question without awaiting its utterance (19-36). He is Benedict, of Monte Cassino fame, and he is surrounded by other contemplative saints (37-51). Encouraged by his words to fling all restraint aside, Dante asks if he may see him in his undisguised form of glory (52-60); and he replies that this lofty desire shall be fulfilled in the Empyrean where all desires have their perfect fulfilment, because there is no temporal succession there but eternal fulness. Contemplation alone can lead to this timeless and spaceless life, whence the Jacob's ladder, that Dante's human eye cannot follow to its summit, is planted upon the star of abstinence and contemplation, and reaches to the heaven which Jacob saw it touch (61-72). But now

Saturno Oppreso di stupore alla mia guida
mi volsi, come parvol che ricorre
sempre colà dove più si confida;
e quella, come madre che soccorre
subito al figlio pallido ed anelo
con la sua voce che il suol ben disporre,
mi disse: "Non sai tu che tu sei in cielo?
e non sai tu che il cielo è tutto santo,
e ciò che ci si fa vien da buon zelo?
Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto,
ed io ridendo, mo pensar lo puoi,
poscia che il grido t' ha mosso cotanto;

none mounts this ladder, for all the monastic orders are degenerate. Yet God has ere now wrought greater wonders than the renewal of their spirit would be. Therefore there is yet hope (73-96). Hereon Benedict returns to his company, and they all are swept whirling back to the highest heaven, while Beatrice by her glance raises Dante instantaneously into his natal sign of Gemini, to the influences of which the poet now appeals for aid in his recording task (97-123). Beatrice bids him, as he draws near to the final glory, and ere he meets the triumphant hosts in this eighth sphere, to strengthen and rejoice his heart by gathering together his heavenly experiences up to this point and realising how far he has left earth behind (124-132). He looks down through all the seven spheres, sees the clear side of the moon and all the related movements and positions of the heavenly bodies, sees the little earth for which we fight so fiercely stretched out before him so that he can trace the rivers right down from the watersheds to the seashore. Then he turns again to Beatrice's eyes (133-154).

The contemplative

Oppressed with stupor to my guide I turned, as doth a little child who hath recourse ever where most he hath his confidence ;
and she, like a mother who succoureth quick her pale and gasping child, with her own voice which still disposeth him aright,
said to me : " Knowst thou not thou art in heaven ? and knowst thou not heaven is all holy, and that which here is done cometh of righteous zeal ?
How the song had transmuted thee, and I in smiling, now mayst thou understand since the cry hath so moved thee ;

Saturno nel qual, se inteso avessi i preghi suoi, 13
già ti sarebbe nota la vendetta,
che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi.

La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta, 16
nè tardo, ma che al parer di colui
che disiando o temendo l' aspetta.

Ma rivolgiti omai inverso altrui, 19
ch' assai illustri spiriti vedrai,
se com' io dico l' aspetto ridui."

Com' a lei piacque gli occhi dirizzai, 22
e vidi cento sperule, che insieme
più s' abbellivan coi mutui rai.

Io stava come quei che in sè repreme 25
la punta del disio, e non s' attenta
del domandar, sì del troppo si teme.

E la maggiore e la più luculenta 28
di quelle margherite innanzi fessi,
per far di sè la mia voglia contenta.

Poi dentro a lei udi' : " Se tu vedessi, 31
com' io, la carità che tra noi arde,
li tuoi concetti sarebbero espressi ;

ma perchè tu, aspettando, non tarde 34
all' alto fine, io ti farò risposta
pure al pensier di che sì ti riguarde.

Quel monte, a cui Cassino è nella costa, 37
fu frequentato già in sulla cima
dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta.

E quel son io che su vi portai prima 40
lo nome di colui, che in terra addusse
la verità che tanto ci sublima ;

e tanta grazia sopra me rilusse, 43
ch' io ritrassi le ville circostanti
dall' empio culto che il mondo sedusse.

wherein, hadst thou understood their prayers, already would be known to thee the vengeance which thou shalt see ere that thou die. The contemplative

The sword from here above cleaveth not in haste nor tardily, save to his deeming who in longing or in fear awaiteth it.

But turn thee now to others ; for many illustrious spirits shalt thou see, if thou again dost lead thy look accordant to my speaking."

As was her pleasure directed I mine eyes, and saw an hundred spherelets, which together were made more beauteous by their mutual rays.

I stood as one repressing in himself the prick of his desire, who doth not presume to ask, so feareth he to exceed.

And the greatest and most shining of these pearls came forward to make my will content concerning him. Benedict

Then there within I heard : " Didst thou see, as I, the love which burneth amongst us, thy thoughts had been expressed ;

but, lest thou by waiting lag from the lofty goal, I will make answer only to the thought of which thou art thus circumspect.

That mount, upon whose slope Cassino lieth, was erst thronged on its summit by the folk deceived and ill-disposed.

And I am he who first bore up there his name, who brought to earth that truth which doth lift us so high ;

and so great grace shone o'er me, that I drew the places round about back from the impious cult which did seduce the world.

Saturno Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti
uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo
che fa nascere i fiori e i frutti santi.
Qui è Maccario, qui è Romoaldo,
qui son li frati miei, che dentro ai chiostri
fermar li piedi e tennero il cor saldo."
Ed io a lui: "L' affetto, che dimostri
meco parlando, e la buona sembianza,
ch' io veggio e noto in tutti gli ardor vostri,
così m' ha dilatata mia fidanza,
come il sol fa la rosa, quando aperta
tanto divien quant' ell' ha di possanza;
però ti prego, e tu, padre, m' accerta
s' io posso prender tanta grazia, ch' io
ti veggia con imagine scoperta."
Ond' egli: "Frate, il tuo alto disio
s' adempierà in sull' ultima spera,
dove s' adempion tutti gli altri e il mio.
Ivi è perfetta, matura ed intera
ciascuna disianza; in quella sola
è ogni parte là dove sempr' era,
perchè non è in loco, e non s' impola,
e nostra scala infino ad essa varca,
onde così dal viso ti s' invola.
Infin lassù la vide il patriarca
Jacob porgere la superna parte,
quando gli apparve d' angeli sì carca.
Ma per salirla mo nessun diparte
da terra i piedi, e la regola mia
rimasa è giù per danno delle carte.
Le mura, che soleano esser badia,
fatte sono spelonche, e le cocolle
sacca son piene di farina ria.

These other flames were all contemplatives kindled by that warmth which giveth birth to the holy flowers and fruits. The contemplative

Here is Maccarius, here is Romoaldus, here are my brothers who within the cloisters stayed their feet and kept sound their heart."

And I to him: "The love thou showest, speaking with me, and the propitious semblance which I perceive and note in all your glows, Dante

hath so strengthened my confidence as the sun doth the rose when it openeth to its utmost power;

wherefore, I pray thee, and do thou, father, give me assurance whether I may receive so great grace as to behold thee with uncovered image."

Whereat he: "Brother, thy high desire shall be fulfilled in the last sphere, where all the rest have their fulfilment, and mine too. Benedict

There perfect, ripe, and whole is each desire; in it alone is every part there where it ever was,

for it is not in space, nor hath it poles; and our ladder even to it goeth, wherefore it thus doth steal from thy sight.

Right up to there the patriarch Jacob saw it stretch its upper part, when it was seen by him so with angels laden.

But to ascend it now none severeth his feet from earth, and my rule abideth there for wasting of the parchments.

The walls which were wont to be a house of prayer, have become dens, and the hoods are sacks full of foul meal.

Saturno Ma grave usura tanto non si tolle 79
contra il piacer di Dio, quanto quel frutto
che fa il cor dei monaci sì folle.

Chè, quantunque la Chiesa guarda, tutto 82
è della gente che per Dio domanda,
non di parenti, nè d' altro più brutto.

La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda, 85
che giù non basta buon cominciamento
dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.

Pier cominciò senz' oro e senza argento, 88
ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
e Francesco umilmente il suo convento.

E se guardi al principio di ciascuno, 91
poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,
tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno.

Veramente Giordan volto retrorso 94
più fu, e il mar fuggir, quando Dio volse,
mirabile a veder, che qui il soccorso."

Così mi disse, ed indi si ricolse 97
al suo collegio, e il collegio si strinse ;
poi, come turbo, tutto in su s' accolse.

Salita La dolce donna retro a lor mi pinse 100
con un sol cenno su per quella scala,
sì sua virtù la mia natura vinse ;

nè mai quaggiù, dove si monta e cala 103
naturalmente, fu sì ratto moto,
ch' agguagliar si potesse alla mia ala.

S' io torni mai, lettore, a quel devoto 106
trionfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
le mie peccata, e il petto mi percoto,

tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo 109
nel foco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno
che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso.

But heavy usury is not exacted so counter to God's pleasure as that fruit which doth so madden the monks' hearts. The contemplative

For what the Church holdeth in her keeping, all pertaineth to the folk that make petition in God's name; not unto kindred, or other filthier thing.

The flesh of mortals is so blandishing that down on earth good beginning sufficeth not for all the space from the upspringing of the oak to acorn-bearing.

Peter began his gathering without gold or silver, and I mine with prayers and fast, and Francis his in humbleness. Degeneracy of the Religious

And if thou scan the beginning of each one, and scan again whither it hath gone astray, thou shalt see the white turned dusky.

But Jordan back returning, and the sea fleeing when God willed, are more wondrous sights than were the rescue here."

So spake he to me, and then gathered him to his assembly; and the assembly drew close; then like a whirlwind was all gathered upward.

The sweet Lady thrust me after them, only with a sign, up by that ladder, so did her power overcome my nature; Beatrice

nor ever here below, where we mount and descend by nature's law, was motion so swift as might compare unto my wing.

O reader, by my hopes of turning back to that devout triumph, for the which I many a time bewail my sins, and smite upon my breast,

thou hadst not drawn back and plunged thy finger in the flame in so short space as that wherein I saw the sign that followeth the Bull, and was within it.

Cielo Stellato

O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno
di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco
tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno,

con voi nasceva e s' ascondeva vosco
quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita,
quand' io senti' da prima l' aer Tosco ;

e poi, quando mi fu grazia largita
d' entrar nell' alta rota che vi gira,
la vostra region mi fu sortita.

A voi devotamente ora sospira
l' anima mia per acquistar virtute
al passo forte, che a sè la tira.

" Tu sei sì presso all' ultima salute,"
cominciò Beatrice, " che tu dei
aver le luci tue chiare ed acute.

E però, prima che tu più t' inlei,
rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo
sotto li piedi già esser ti fei ;

sì che il tuo cor, quantunque può, giocondo
s' appresenti alla turba trionfante,
che lieta vien per questo etera tondo."

Col viso ritornai per tutte e quante
le sette spere, e vidi questo globo
tal ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante ;

e quel consiglio per migliore approbo
che l' ha per meno ; e chi ad altro pensa
chiamar si può veracemente probo.

Vidi la figlia di Latona incensa
senza quell' ombra, che mi fu cagione
per che già la credetti rara e densa.

L' aspetto del tuo nato, Iperione,
quivi sostenni, e vidi com' si move
circa e vicino a lui Maia e Dione.

O stars of glory, O light impregnated with mighty power, from which I derive all, whatsoe'er it be, my genius ; **The redeemed**

with you was rising, and hiding him with you, he who is father of each mortal life, when I first felt the air of Tuscany ;

and then when grace was bestowed on me to enter the lofty wheel that rolleth you, your region was assigned to me.

To you devoutly now my soul doth breathe, to gain the power for the hard passage that doth draw her to it.

" Thou art so nigh to the supreme weal," began Beatrice, " that thou shouldst have thine eyes clear and keen. **Beatrice**

And therefore, ere thou further wend thereinto, look down and see how great a universe I have already put beneath thy feet ;

so that thy heart, rejoicing to its utmost, may be presented to the throng triumphant which cometh glad through this sphered ether."

With my sight I turned back through all and each of the seven spheres, and saw this globe such that I smiled at its sorry semblance ; **Retrospect**

and that counsel I approve as best which holdeth it for least ; and he whose thoughts are turned elsewhither may be called truly upright.

I saw the daughter of Latona kindled without that shade which erst gave me cause to deem her rare and dense.

The aspect of thy son, Hyperion, I there endured, and saw how Maia and Dione move about and near him.

Cielo Stellato

Quindi m' apparve il temperar di Giove
tra il padre e il figlio ; e quivi mi fu chiaro
il variar che fanno di lor dove.
E tutti e sette mi si dimostraro
quanto son grandi, e quanto son veloci,
e come sono in distante riparo.
L' aiuola che ci fa tanto feroci,
volgendom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci :
poscia rivolsi gli occhi agli occhi belli.

28. Benedict (480-543), the founder of the Benedictines, is frequently represented in paintings as the type of monastic discipline.

33. 'You would not have held back, timidly repressing your questions.'

37-39. Monte Cassino "is situated on the spur of Monte Cairo, a few miles from Aquino, in the N of Campania, almost exactly half-way between Rome and Naples." It was "crowned by a temple of Apollo, and a grove sacred to Venus."—Toynbee.

49. Probably Macarius the Egyptian (301-391), one of the monks of the Sinaitic desert, a disciple of Anthony *Romualdus* "saw in a vision a ladder stretching from earth to heaven after the similitude of the patriarch Jacob; whereon men in white vesture ascended and descended; whereby he perceived that the monks of Camaldoli, of whose institution he was the author, were wondrously set forth. Finally, when he had lived 120 years, and during 100 of them had served God in the utmost austerity of life, he took his way to him in the year of salvation 1027."—*Breviarium Romanum.* He was of the Ravennese family of Onesti. Camaldoli is in the Casentino district, and is the hermitage referred to in *Purg.* v. 96.

61-69. *i.e.* 'There is no temporal succession, but eternal co-existence, and therefore completeness.' (Compare xxix. 10-12 ; xxx. 61-99, *Argument.*)

74, 75. 'My "Rule" serves no purpose except to spoil the parchments on which it is written.'

Next appeared to me the tempering of Jove between his father and his son ; and there was clear to me the varying they make in their position. The redeemed
And all the seven were displayed to me, how great they are and swift, and how distant each from other in location.
The threshing-floor which maketh us wax so fierce, as I rolled with the eternal Twins, was all revealed to me from ridge to river-mouth ; then to the beauteous eyes mine eyes again I turned.

79-84. *Interest* is regarded as the "increase" of the capital. Hence Dante speaks of it by implication as "fruit," and says that the illicit increase or gain of usury is not so hateful to God as those illicit gains in frenzied greed for which the monks rob the poor, whose guardians they are, and enrich their relatives, or even their paramours.

85. The Italian *blanda* is variously taken as "seducing" or as "easily seduced."

115-117. This fixes Dante's birthday as somewhere between the 18th May and the 17th June (both inclusive), the time during which the sun was in Gemini.

139-141. Compare ii. 60. Dante conceived that the other side of the moon, which is always turned away from us and toward the higher heavens, had no dark patches.

142. Apollo = the sun.

144. *Maia* and *Dione*, somewhat strangely put for the son of Maia (Mercury) and the daughter of Dione (Venus).

145. The temperate Jove between the hot Mars and the chill Saturn. Compare xviii. 68.

147. The nature of their orbits.

151. A thrashing-floor was a round flat area. Hence the comparison.

153. Not to be understood as implying that the whole inhabited area of the earth was visible to him. Compare xxvii. 76-87, *Argument*, *note*, and *map* (p. 397).

PARADISO

BEATRICE turns towards Cancer, the region of the summer Solstice, eastward from Gemini where the poet and his guide are placed; and her intent look wakes the eagerness of expectancy in him (1-15). Ere long he sees heaven lighted by the approach of the triumphant hosts of Christ, the whole harvest of the heavenly husbandry; and outshining all is Christ, whose person pierces the swathings of his glory with blinding light; whereupon, as lightning dilating in the womb of a cloud bursts forth, having no space within, so Dante's mind bursts its own limits and loses itself (16-45). . . . Beatrice recalls him as from a forgotten dream, and his sight, strengthened by the vision of Christ, is now able to endure her smile (46-54). What he then saw he needs must leave untold, albeit what he is forcing himself, line by line,

Cielo Stellato

Come l' augello, intra l' amate fronde,
posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati
la notte che le cose ci nasconde,

che, per veder gli aspetti disiati,
e per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca,
in che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati,

previene il tempo in su l' aperta frasca,
e con ardente affetto il sole aspetta,
fiso guardando pur che l' alba nasca;

così la donna mia si stava eretta
ed attenta, rivolta in ver la plaga,
sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta,

sì che veggendola io sospesa e vaga,
fecimi quale è quei, che disiando
altro vorria e sperando s' appaga.

CANTO XXIII

to record proclaims that he yields to no shrinking desire to spare himself (55-69). At Beatrice's bidding he mans himself again to look upon the garden of Christ, the Virgin rose and the Apostolic lilies; but Christ himself, in tenderness to the pilgrim's powers, has withdrawn above and shines down upon his chosen ones, himself unseen (70-87). Gabriel descends and crowns the virgin who then rises through the *Primum Mobile* far out of sight, while the saints reach up tenderly after her with their flames (88-129). Oh, what wealth of glory is in these sainted souls who on earth chose and spread the true riches that wax not old! There Peter triumphs in the victory of Christ, with the ancient and the modern assembly for whom his key has unlocked heaven (130-139).

As the bird amidst the loved foliage who hath brooded on the nest of her sweet offspring through the night which hideth things from us, **The redeemed**

who, to look upon their longed-for aspect and to find the food wherewith to feed them, wherein her heavy toils are pleasant to her,

foreruns the time, upon the open spray, and with glowing love awaiteth the sun, fixedly gazing for the dawn to rise;

so was my Lady standing, erect and eager, turned toward the region beneath which the sun showeth least speed; **Beatrice**

so that, as I looked on her in her suspense and longing, I became like him who, desiring, would fain have other than he hath, and payeth him with hope.

Cielo Stellato

Ma poco fu tra uno ed altro quando,
del mio attender, dico, e del vedere
lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando.

E Beatrice disse: "Ecco le schiere
del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto
ricolto del girar di queste spere."

Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto,
e gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni
che passar mi convien senza costrutto.

Quale nei plenilunii sereni
Trivia ride tra le ninfe eterne,
che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni,

vid' io, sopra migliaia di lucerne,
un sol che tutte quante l' accendea,
come fa il nostro le viste superne;

e per la viva luce trasparea
la lucente sustanzia tanto chiara
nel viso mio, che non la sostenea.

O Beatrice, dolce guida e cara!
Ella mi disse: "Quel che ti sopranza
è virtù, da cui nulla si ripara.

Quivi è la sapienza e la possanza
ch' aprì le strade intra il cielo e la terra,
onde fu già sì lunga disianza."

Come foco di nube si disserra
per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape,
e fuor di sua natura in giù s' atterra;

la mente mia così, tra quelle dape
fatta più grande, di sè stessa uscio,
e, che si fesse, rimembrar non sape.

"Apri gli occhi e riguarda qual son io;
tu hai vedute cose, che possente
sei fatto a sostener lo riso mio."

But short was the space 'twixt one and the other *when*, of fixing my attent I mean, and of seeing the heaven grow brilliant more and more. The redeemed

And Beatrice said: "Behold the hosts of Christ's triumph, and all the fruit gathered by the circling of these spheres."

Meseemed her countenance was all aglow, and her eyes so full of gladness, that I must needs pass it by, undescribed.

As in the calm full moons Trivia smileth amongst the eternal nymphs who paint the heaven in each recess,

I saw, thousands of lamps surmounting, one sun which all and each enkindled, as doth our own the things we see above; Christ

and through the living light outglowed the shining substance so bright upon my vision that it endured it not.

Oh Beatrice, sweet guide and dear! She said to me: "That which o'ercometh thee is power against which naught hath defence.

Therein are the wisdom and the might which oped the pathways betwixt heaven and earth, for which there erst had been so long desire."

Even as fire is unbarred from the cloud, because it so dilateth that it hath not space within, and counter to its nature dasheth down to earth,

so my mind, grown greater 'mid these feasts, forth issued from itself, and what it then became knoweth not to recall.

"Open thine eyes and look on what I am; thou hast seen things by which thou art made mighty to sustain my smile." Beatrice

Cielo Stellato

Io era come quei, che si risente
di vision obblita, e che s' ingegna
indarno di ridurlasi alla mente,

quando io udi' questa profferta, degna
di tanto grado, che mai non si estingue
del libro che il preterito rassegna.

Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue,
che Polinnia con le suore fero
del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,

per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero
non si verria, cantando il santo riso,
e quanto il santo aspetto facea mero.

E così, figurando il Paradiso,
convien saltar lo sacrato poema,
come chi trova suo cammin reciso.

Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema,
e l' omero mortal che se ne carca,
nol biasmerebbe, se sott' esso trema.

Non è pileggio da picciola barca
quel che fendendo va l' ardita prora,
nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca.

" Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora,
che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora ?

Quivi è la Rosa, in che il Verbo divino
carne si fece ; quivi son li Gigli,
al cui odor si prese il buon cammino."

Così Beatrice ; ed io, ch' a' suoi consigli
tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei
alla battaglia dei debili cigli.

Come a raggio di sol, che puro mei
per fratta nube, già prato di fiori
vider, coperti d' ombra, gli occhi miei ;

I was as one who cometh to himself from a forgotten vision, and doth strive in vain to bring it back unto his mind, The redeemed

when I heard this proffer, worthy of so great gratitude, as never to be blotted from the book that doth record the past.

If now there were to sound all of those tongues which Polyhymnia with her sisters made richest with their sweetest milk, Beatrice

it would not mount, in aiding me, unto the thousandth of the truth, hymning the sacred smile, and how deep-clear it made the sacred aspect.

And therefore, figuring Paradise, needs must the sacred poem make a leap, as who should find his pathway intercepted.

But whoso thinketh of the weighty theme and of the mortal shoulder which hath charged itself therewith, will think no blame if under it it trembleth.

It is no voyage for a little barque, that which my daring keel cleaveth as it goeth, nor for a helmsman who doth spare himself.

"Wherefore doth my face so enamour thee that thou turnest thee not to the fair garden which flowereth beneath the rays of Christ?

There is the Rose wherein the Word Divine made itself flesh; there are the Lilies at whose odour the good path was taken." The Virgin and Apostles

So Beatrice: and I, who to her counsels was all eager, again surrendered me to the conflict of my feeble vision.

As under the sun's ray, which issueth pure through a broken cloud, ere now mine eyes have seen a meadow full of flowers, when themselves covered by the shade;

Cielo Stellato

vid' io così più turbe di splendori
folgorati di su da raggi ardenti,
senza veder principio dei fulgori.

O benigna virtù che sì gl' imprenti,
su t' esaltasti per largirmi loco
agli occhi lì, che non eran possenti.

Il nome del bel fior, ch' io sempre invoco
e mane e sera, tutto mi ristrinse
l' animo ad avvisar lo maggior foco.

E come ambo le luci mi dipinse
il quale e il quanto della viva stella,
che lassù vince, come quaggiù vinse,

per entro il cielo scese una facella,
formata in cerchio a guisa di corona,
e cinsela, e girossi intorno ad ella.

Qualunque melodia più dolce suona
quaggiù, e più a sè l' anima tira,
parrebbe nube che squarciata tuona,

comparata al sonar di quella lira,
onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,
del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.

" Io sono amore angelico, che giro
l' alta letizia che spira del ventre,
che fu albergo del nostro disiro ;

e girerommi, donna del ciel, mentre
che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia
più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre."

Così la circulata melodia
si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi
facean sonar lo nome di Maria.

Lo real manto di tutti i volumi
del mondo, che più ferve e più s' avviva
nell' alito di Dio e nei costumi,

so beheld I many a throng of splendours, glowed on from above by ardent rays, beholding not the source whence came the glowings. The redeemed

O benign power which dost so imprint them! thou hadst thyself uplifted to yield place there for mine eyes that lacked in power.

The name of the beauteous flower which I ever invoke, morning and evening, drew all my mind together to look upon the greatest flame. The Virgin

And when on both mine eyes had been depicted the quality and greatness of the living star which conquereth up there, e'en as down here it conquered,

from within the heaven descended a torch circle-formed, in fashion of a crown, and girt her and wheeled round her. Gabriel

Whatever melody soundeth sweetest here below, and most doth draw the soul unto itself, would seem a rent cloud thundering,

compared unto the sound of that lyre whereby was crowned the beauteous sapphire by which the brightest heaven is ensapphired.

"I am the angelic love who circle the lofty gladness that doth breathe from out the womb which was the hostelry of our desire;

and I will circle, Lady of heaven, until thou followest thy son, and dost make yet more divine the supreme sphere in that thou enterest it."

Thus the circling melody impressed itself, and all the other lights rang out the name of Mary.

The royal mantle of all the swathings of the universe which most doth burn and most is quickened in the breath and in the ways of God, Primum Mobile

Cielo Stellato

avea sopra di noi l' interna riva
tanto distante, che la sua parvenza
là dov' io era ancor non m' appariva.

Però non ebber gli occhi miei potenza
di seguitar la coronata fiamma,
che si levò appresso sua semenza.

E come fantolin, che in ver la mamma
tende le braccia poi che il latte prese,
per l' animo che in fin di fuor s' infiamma ;

ciascun di quei candori in su si stese
con la sua fiamma, sì che l' alto affetto,
ch' egli aveano a Maria, mi fu palese.

Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto,
Regina coeli cantando sì dolce,
che mai da me non si partì il diletto.

Oh quanta è l' ubertà che si soffolce
in quell' arche ricchissime, che foro
a seminar quaggiù buone bobolce !

Quivi si vive e gode del tesoro
che s' acquistò piangendo nell' esilio
di Babilon, dove si lasciò l' oro.

Quivi trionfa, sotto l' alto Filio
di Dio e di Maria, di sua vittoria,
e con l' antico e col nuovo concilio
colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria.

19-21. Dante has seen in the seven planetary spheres the different classes and grades of blessedness representing the "many mansions." Now in the heaven of the stars he sees in varied groups the whole fruit of creation and history gathered together, as typifying the "one home." The "circling of these spheres" signifies the whole cosmic evolution, and the working of the spirit of God upon man. *Cf.* xiii. 52-66, *note.*

30. See xx. 6, *note.*

37. Compare 1 *Corinthians* i. 24.

above us had its inner shore so distant that its appearance, there where I was, not yet appeared to me. The redeemed

Therefore mine eyes had not power to follow the crowned flame as she ascended after her own offspring.

And as the infant who toward his mother stretcheth up his arms when he hath had the milk, because his mind flameth forth even into outward gesture;

so each one of these glowings up-stretched with its flame, that the deep love which they had for Mary was made plain to me.

Then they stayed there within my sight, singing *O Queen of heaven* so sweetly that ne'er hath parted from me the delight.

O how great the wealth crammed in those most rich chests, which here on earth were goodly husbandmen for the seeding! The Apostles

Here they have life and joy even in that treasure which was earned in weeping in the exile of Babylon, where gold was scorned.

Here triumphs under the lofty Son of God and Mary, in his victory, together with the ancient and new council, he who doth hold the keys of so great glory.

60. Another well-supported reading has a second *il* before *facea*. The meaning would then be, "and how bright the sacred aspect made it," *i.e.* 'the countenance of Christ, on which she had looked, made Beatrice's smile ineffably beauteous.'

108. The Empyrean.

112-114. The *Primum Mobile*.

134, 135. The Babylonian exile is a favourite symbol of the life upon Earth, wherein we are "strangers and pilgrims." Compare *Purg.* xiii. 94-96.

PARADISO

BEATRICE appeals to the saints in the starry heaven to give Dante to drink from the heavenly table to which they have been summoned. The divine grace which gives him a foretaste of their feast is their warrant, his immeasurable longing is his claim, and their unbroken enjoyment of that knowledge which he desires makes it easy for them to give (1-9). The saints respond joyously to her appeal and in groups of circling lights reveal their varying measures of ecstasy (10-18). Peter comes out from the brightest group in answer to Beatrice's prayer (19-33). She addresses him as the representative of that Faith by which he himself once walked upon the sea, and to which heaven owes all its citizens; and urges him to test Dante as to Faith (34-45). Dante prepares himself, as for examination, and Peter questions him (46-57). Dante founds his confession upon the definition in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Faith is the substance or foundation upon

Cielo Stellato

" O sodalizio eletto alla gran cena
del benedetto agnello, il qual vi ciba
sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena ;
se per grazia di Dio questi preliba
di quel che cade della vostra mensa,
prima che morte tempo gli prescriba,
ponete mente all' affezione immensa,
e roratelo alquanto : voi bevete
sempre del fonte onde vien quel ch' ei pensa."
Così Beatrice : e quelle anime liete
si fero spere sopra fissi poli,
fiammando forte a guisa di comete.
E come cerchi in tempra d' oriuoli
si giran sì che il primo, a chi pon mente,
quieto pare, e l' ultimo che voli,

which hope is reared, and the basis of the argument by which the reality of unseen things is established (58-81). His own faith is unquestioning (82-87). It is based on Scripture (88-96) which is authenticated by miracle (97-102). And if one should question the miracles he must face the yet greater miracle of the spread of Christianity without miracle (103-114). Peter further demands to hear the positive content of Dante's faith and the specific warrant for it (115-123). Dante declares his faith in God, defined first in Aristotelian phrase as the unmoved mover whom the heaven loves and longs for, and then as three Persons in one Essence. For the first belief proofs are drawn from the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* as well as from Scripture, for the second from Scripture alone (124-144). All else is secondary (145-147). Peter signifies his delight in Dante's confession by circling him thrice (148-154).

The redeemed

" O fellowship elect to the great supper of the blessed Lamb, who feedeth you in such fashion that your desire ever is fulfilled ;
if by the grace of God this man foretasteth of that which falleth from your table ere death prescribe the time to him,
give heed to his unmeasured yearning and bedew him somewhat : ye drink ever of the fountain whence floweth that on which his thought is fixed."
Thus Beatrice : and those glad souls made themselves spheres upon fixed poles, outflaming mightily like unto comets.
And even as wheels in harmony of clock-work so turn that the first, to whoso noteth it, seemeth still, and the last to fly,

Cielo Stellato

così quelle carole differentemente danzando, della sua ricchezza
mi si facean stimar, veloci e lente.
Di quella ch' io notai di più bellezza
vid' io uscire un foco sì felice,
che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza;
e tre fiate intorno di Beatrice
si volse con un canto tanto divo,
che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice;
però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo,
chè l' imagine nostra a cotai pieghe,
non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo.
" O santa suora mia, che sì ne preghe
devota, per lo tuo ardente affetto
da quella bella spera mi disleghe."
Poscia, fermato il foco benedetto,
alla mia donna dirizzò lo spiro,
che favellò così, com' io ho detto.
Ed ella: " O luce eterna del gran viro,
a cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi,
ch' ei portò giù, di questo gaudio miro,
tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi,
come ti piace, intorno della fede,
per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi.
S' egli ama bene, e bene spera, e crede,
non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi,
dov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede.
Ma perchè questo regno ha fatto civi
per la verace fede, a gloriarla,
di lei parlare è buon ch' a lui arrivi."
Sì come il baccellier s' arma, e non parla,
fin che il maestro la question propone,
per approvarla, e non per terminarla;

so did these carols with their differing whirl, or swift or slow, make me deem of their riches. The redeemed

From the one I noted of most beauty, I saw issue a so blissful flame it left none there of greater brightness; Peter

and thrice round Beatrice did it sweep with so divine a song that my fantasy repeateth it not to me;

wherefore my pen leapeth, and I write it not: for such folds our imagination, not only our speech, is too vivid colouring.

"O holy sister mine, who thus dost pray to us devoutly, by thy glowing love, thou dost unloosen me from this fair sphere."

The breath that thus discoursed, as I have written down, was turned unto my Lady by that blessed flame so soon as it had stayed.

And she: "O light eternal of that great man to whom our Lord gave up the keys he brought down of this wondrous joy, Beatrice

test this man here on the points both light and grave, as it doth please thee, anent the faith whereby thou once didst walk upon the sea.

Whether he loveth well and well hopeth and believeth is not hidden from thee, for thou hast thy vision there where everything is seen depicted.

But since this realm hath made its citizens by the true faith, 'tis well that, for the glorifying of it, it should be permitted him to speak thereof."

Even as the bachelor armeth himself and speaketh not until the master setteth forth the question, to sanction it, but not determine it; Dante

Cielo Stellato così m' armava io d' ogni ragione, 49
mentre ch' ella dicea, per esser presto
a tal querente ed a tal professione.
" Di', buon Cristiano, fatti manifesto : 52
fede che è ? " Ond' io levai la fronte
in quella luce onde spirava questo ;
poi mi volsi a Beatrice, ed essa pronte 55
sembianze femmi, perch' io spandessi
l' acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.
" La grazia che mi dà ch' io mi confessi," 58
comincia' io, " dall' alto primipilo,
faccia li miei concetti esser espressi."
E seguitai : " Come il verace stilo 61
ne scrisse, patre, del tuo caro frate,
che mise Roma teco nel buon filo,
fede è sustanzia di cose sperate, 64
ed argomento delle non parventi ;
e questo pare a me sua quiditate."
Allora udii : " Dirittamente senti, 67
se bene intendi, perchè la ripose
tra le sustanzie, e poi tra gli argomenti."
Ed io appresso : " Le profonde cose, 70
che mi largiscon qui la lor parvenza,
agli occhi di laggiù son sì ascose,
che l' esser loro v' è in sola credenza, 73
sopra la qual si fonda l' alta spene,
e però di sustanzia prende intenza ;
e da questa credenza ci conviene 76
sillogizzar, senza avere altra vista :
però intenza di argomento tiene."
Allora udii : " Se quantunque s' acquista 79
giù per dottrina fosse così inteso,
non gli avria loco ingegno di sofista."

so did I arm myself with every reason whilst she was speaking, that I might be ready for such examiner and such profession. The redeemed

" Good Christian, speak, and manifest thyself; what thing is faith?" Whereat I lifted up my brow upon that light whence breathed forth this word; Faith

then turned me to Beatrice, and she made eager indication to me that I should pour the water forth from my inward fountain.

" May the grace that granteth me to confess me," I began, " to the veteran fore-fighter, make my thoughts find expression!"

And I followed on: " As wrote for us, O father, the veracious pen of thy dear brother, who, with thee, set Rome on the good track; Paul. Definition of faith

faith is the substance of things hoped for, and argument of things which are not seen; and this I take to be its quiddity."

Then heard I: " Rightly dost thou deem, if well thou understandest wherefore he placed it amongst the substances, and then amongst the arguments."

And I thereon: " The deep things which grant me here the privilege to appear before me, are from the eyes of them below so hidden

that their existence is there only in belief, whereon is built the lofty hope; and so of *substance* it embraceth the intention;

and from this belief needs must we syllogise without further sight; therefore it includes the intention of *argument*."

Then heard I: " If all that is acquired down below by teaching were so understood, there were no room left for the wit of sophist."

Cielo Stellato

Così spirò da quell' amore acceso ; 82
indi soggiunse : " Assai bene è trascorsa
d' esta moneta già la lega e il peso ;
ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa." 85
Ond' io : " Sì ho, sì lucida e sì tonda,
che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa."
Appresso uscì della luce profonda, 88
che lì splendeva : " Questa cara gioia,
sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda,
onde ti venne ? " Ed io : " La larga ploia 91
dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa
in sulle vecchie e in sulle nuove cuoia,
è sillogismo, che la m' ha conchiusa 94
acutamente sì che in verso d' ella
ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa."
Io udii poi : " L' antica e la novella 97
proposizion che così ti conchiude,
perchè l' hai tu per divina favella ? "
Ed io : " La prova che il ver mi dischiude 100
son l' opere seguite, a che natura
non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè incude."
Risposto fummi : " Di', chi t' assicura 103
che quell' opere fosser ? Quel medesmo
che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura."
" Se il mondo si rivolse al Cristianesmo," 106
diss' io, " senza miracoli, quest' uno
è tal che gli altri non sono il centesmo ;
chè tu entrasti povero e digiuno 109
in campo, a seminar la buona pianta,
che fu già vite, ed ora è fatta pruno."
Finito questo, l' alta corte santa 112
risonò per le spere un *Dio laudamo*,
nella melode che lassù si canta.

Thus was breathed forth from that enkindled love; then did it add: "Right well hath now been tested this coin's alloy and weight; The redeemed
but tell me if thou hast it in thy purse." Whereupon I: "Yea, so bright and round I have it that for me is no *perhaps* in its impression." The poet's faith
Then issued from the deep light that was glowing there: "This dear gem on which all virtue is up-built,
whence came it to thee?" And I: "The ample shower of the Holy Spirit which is poured over the old and over the new parchments, Whence it cometh
is syllogism that hath brought it to so sharp conclusion for me, that, compared to it, all demonstration seemeth blunt to me."
Then heard I: "That old and that new proposition which bringeth thee to such conclusion, wherefore dost hold it for divine discourse?"
And I: "The proof which doth unfold the truth to me lieth in the works that followed, for which nature ne'er heated iron yet, nor hammered anvil."
The answer came to me: "Say, who assureth thee that these works were? The very script that would attest itself, no other, swearth it to thee."
"If the world turned to Christianity," I said, "without miracles, this one is such that the others are not the hundredth of it;
for thou didst enter poor and hungry upon the battle-field to sow the good plant which was erst a vine, but now has grown a thorn."
This ended, the high holy court made *God we praise* ring through the spheres, in melody such as up there is sung.

Cielo Stellato

E quel Baron, che sì di ramo in ramo,
esaminando, già tratto m' avea
che all' ultime fronde appressavamo,
ricominciò : " La grazia, che donnea
con la tua mente, la bocca t' aperse
infino a qui, com' aprir si dovea ;
sì ch' io approvo ciò che fuori emerse :
ma or conviene esprimer quel che credi,
ed onde alla credenza tua s' offerse."
" O santo padre, spirito che vedi
ciò che credesti sì che tu vincesti
ver lo sepolcro i più giovani piedi,"
comincia' io, " tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
la forma qui del pronto creder mio,
ed anco la cagion di lui chiedesti ;
ed io rispondo : Io credo in uno Iddio
solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel move,
non moto, con amore e con disio.
Ed a tal creder non ho io pur prove
fisice e metafisice, ma dalmi
anco la verità che quinci piove
per Moisè, per Profeti e per Salmi,
per l' Evangelio, e per voi che scriveste,
poichè l' ardente Spirto vi fece almi.
E credo in tre persone eterne, e queste
credo una essenza sì una e sì trina,
che soffera congiunto *sono* ed *este*.
Della profonda condizion divina
ch' io tocco, nella mente mi sigilla
più volte l' evangelica dottrina.
Quest' è il principio, quest' è la favilla
che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
e, come stella in cielo, in me scintilla."

And that Spirit who so from branch to branch, examining, had drawn me now, that we were nigh unto the utmost leaves, **The redeemed**

began again: "The grace which holdeth amorous converse with thy mind hath oped thy mouth till now as it behoved to open;

so that I sanction that which forth emerged; but now behoveth thee to utter what it is thou dost believe, and whence it offered it to thy believing." **The content of faith**

"O holy father, thou spirit who now seest that which of old thou didst so believe that thou didst overcome more youthful feet drawing anigh the sepulchre,"

I began, "thou wouldst have me here make plain the form of my eager belief, and dost also ask the cause of it;

whereto I answer: I believe in one God, sole and eternal, who moveth all the heaven, himself unmoved, with love and with desire.

And for such belief I have not only proofs physic and metaphysic, but it is given me likewise by the truth which hence doth proceed **Whence derived**

through Moses, through the Prophets and through the Psalms, through the Gospel and through you who wrote when the glowing Spirit had made you fosterers.

And I believe in three eternal Persons, and I believe them one Essence, so One and so Trine as to comport at once with *are* and *is*.

With the profound divine state whereof I speak, my mind is stamped more times than once by evangelic teaching.

This the beginning is; this is the spark which then dilates into a living flame, and like a star in heaven shineth in me."

Cielo Stellato

Come il signor, ch' ascolta quel che i piace, 148
da indi abbraccia il servo, gratulando
per la novella, tosto ch' ei si tace ;
così, benedicendomi cantando, 151
tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
l' apostolico lume, al cui comando
io avea detto ; sì nel dir gli piacqui. 154

3. Contrast ii. 12.

16. *Carol*, in old English as in Italian, signifies a group of dancers.

27. Giotto's vivid colouring went with a love of large surfaces, whence his treatment of drapery, "cumbrous, from the exceeding simplicity of the terminal lines"; whereas the Byzantines, both in the earlier period of pale colouring and in the "solemn and deep" system of the later 12th and 13th centuries, used to "break up their draperies by a large number of minute folds." (After Ruskin.) Dante regards human speech and even human imagination as too aggressive and undiscriminating for the delicate folds of the pictures he fain would paint.

46-48. Graduation is a religious experience analogous to confirmation. Note the place of the authors of school text-books amongst the great religious teachers in xii. 134, 137. Lines 47 and 48 have been much discussed. The translation takes them as meaning that by propounding the question the master sanctions the discussion without determining the conclusion.

62. St. Paul; for the anonymous *Epistle to the Hebrews*, from which the definition is taken (xi. 1), was attributed to him. The Catholic Church has always maintained that faith is an *intellectual* virtue; hence the rationalistic colouring of this Canto, from which the Protestant reader will miss much that comes under his conception of faith (based on the really Pauline Epistles to the *Galatians* and *Romans*), and which he will find elsewhere in the *Comedy*, but not here.

66. *Quiddity*, see xx. 92, *note*.

69. The usual meaning of *substance* in the scholastic philosophy is something which exists in itself. (See

Like as the master who heareth what doth please him, and thereupon embraceth the servant, rejoicing at the news, so soon as he is silent; The redeemed

so, blessing me as it sang, three times circled me, so soon as I was silent, the apostolic light at whose command I had discoursed; so did I please him in my utterance.

iii. 29, *note*.) Hence an objection to the definition in *Hebrews* noticed by Aquinas: "No quality is a substance; but faith is a quality. . . . therefore it is not a substance." Dante meets the difficulty by taking *substance* in its other sense, as that which "stands under."

75. *Intention*. A difficult word because of the variety of its technical uses. Compare *Purg.* xviii. 23. Here it is nearly equivalent to "meaning." Faith includes "what is meant by *substance*," and also "what is meant by *argument*."

98. *Proposition*, as applied to the O.T. and N.T., carries on the logical terminology of line 94.

125, 126. See *John* xx. 3-6. Dante has fallen into a confusion between "first entering" and "first approaching" the sepulchre.

131-134. Compare i. 1, 76, *notes*. See Wallace, § 39, 46.

138. *Made you fosterers, i.e.* 'made you the foster fathers of the faithful.' But the more usual rendering takes *almi* simply as "beautiful" or "holy."

144. The schoolmen found the scriptural references to the Trinity chiefly in the O.T., in the plural form of the Hebrew word for "God"; in the use of the plural in *Gen.* i. 26; in the threefold cry in *Isaiah* vi. 3, etc., etc. The chief passages from the N.T. are the formula of baptism in *Matt.* xxviii. 19; the text of the three "heavenly witnesses" in 1 *John* v. 7 (Vulgate and A.V.); and the threefold formula in *Romans* xi. 36, after citing which, with some others, Petrus Lombardus adds: "but since almost every syllable of the New Testament agrees in suggesting this truth of the ineffable Unity and Trinity, let us dispense with gathering testimonies on this matter."

PARADISO

IT was the Faith that gained Dante the high privilege of the apostolic benediction. Therefore if his poem should ever melt the heart of the Florentines he will take the poet's crown at that same font whereat he was received into the Faith (1-12). St James now joins St Peter. When we read of the three chosen disciples to whom Jesus reveals more than to the others we are to take Peter as representing faith, James hope, and John love; and therefore Beatrice urges James to test Dante as to Hope (13-33). James questions him (34-48). Beatrice herself declares on his behalf that he possesses in fullest measure the virtue of Hope, and that it is on that very ground that he has been allowed to anticipate death in his vision of divine things (49-57). As to the nature of Hope and its source he shall answer for himself (58-63). Dante defines Hope with exclusive reference to the future life, and derives it from Scrip-

Cielo Stellato

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,

vinca la crudeltà, che fuor mi serra
del bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello,
nimico ai lupi, che gli danno guerra;

con altra voce omai, con altro vello
ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
del mio battesmo prenderò il cappello;

però che nella Fede, che fa conte
l' anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.

Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
di quella spera, ond' uscì la primizia
che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi.

ture (64-78). James, whose own hope, which followed him even to death, is now swallowed up in victory, still loves the virtue he once practised, and demands to hear the content of Dante's hope, and its source (79-87). Dante declares that Isaiah and John tell him of the double garments of the blessed, and that this symbol indicates to him the resurrection of the body as well as the immortality of the soul as the substantive content of his hope (88-99). A light as bright as the sun now joins Peter and James, and is declared by Beatrice to be the Apostle John (100-117). Dante strains his sight to see John's body, but is blinded by the glory, and is told that his body is dust, and awaits the general resurrection; Jesus and Mary alone of human beings having arisen with their bodies to heaven (118-129). Then of a sudden the harmony is stilled, and the blinded Dante turns in vain to look upon Beatrice (130-139).

The redeemed

Should it e'er come to pass that the sacred poem
to which both heaven and earth so have set hand,
that it hath made me lean through many a year,
should overcome the cruelty which doth bar me
forth from the fair sheepfold wherein I used
to sleep, a lamb, foe to the wolves which war
upon it;

Return to Florence

with changed voice now, and with changed fleece
shall I return, a poet, and at the font of my
baptism shall I assume the chaplet;
because into the Faith which maketh souls known
of God, 'twas there I entered; and afterward
Peter, for its sake, circled thus my brow.
Thereafter moved a light toward us from out
that sphere whence issued forth the first-fruits
of his vicars left by Christ.

Cielo Stellato

E la mia donna piena di letizia
mi disse : " Mira, mira, ecco il Barone,
per cui laggiù si visita Galizia."

Sì come quando il colombo si pone
presso al compagno, e l' uno all' altro pande,
girando e mormorando, l' affezione,

così vid' io l' un dall' altro grande
principe glorioso essere accolto,
laudando il cibo che lassù li prande.

Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto,
tacito *coram me* ciascun s' affisse,
ignito sì che vinceva il mio volto.

Ridendo allora Beatrice disse :
" Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza
della nostra basilica si scrisse,

fa risonar la speme in questa altezza ;
tu sai, che tante volte la figuri,
quanto Jesù ai tre fe' più chiarezza."

" Leva la testa, e fa che t' assicuri ;
chè ciò che vien quassù dal mortal mondo,
convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi."

Questo conforto dal foco secondo
mi venne ; ond' io levai gli occhi ai monti,
che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.

" Poichè, per grazia, vuol che tu t' affronti
lo nostro Imperadore, anzi la morte,
nell' aula più segreta, co' suoi Conti ;

sì che, veduto il ver di questa corte,
la speme che laggiù bene innamora
in te ed in altrui di ciò conforte :

di' quel che ell' è, e come se ne infiora
la mente tua, e di' onde a te venne " ;
così seguì 'l secondo lume ancora.

And my Lady, full of gladness, said to me, The redeemed
"Look! look! behold the Saint for whose sake, down below, they seek Galicia."

As when a dove taketh his place near his companion, and the one poureth out his love for the other, circling round and murmuring,

so did I see one great chieftain glorious received James and Peter
by the other, praising the food which there above doth feast them.

But when the greeting was fulfilled, silent before me each one fixed himself, so kindled that it subdued my countenance.

Smiling then Beatrice said: "Illustrious life, by whom the generosity of our court was chronicled,

make hope be sounded in this height; thou knowest that all those times thou figurest it when Jesus gave more light unto the three."

"Uplift thy head, and see thou reassure thee, James
for whatso cometh from the mortal world up hither, behoves it ripen in our rays."

Such exhortation from the second flame came to me; whereat I lifted up mine eyes unto the mountains, which had before down-bowed them with excess of weight.

"Since of his grace our Emperor willeth that ere thy death thou be confronted with his Saints in his most secret hall;

that, having seen the truth of this court, thou mayst Hope
thereby strengthen in thyself and others the hope that upon earth enamoureth folk of good;

say what thing it is, and how thy mind is therewith enflowered, and say whence unto thee it cometh"; so followed on the second light.

Cielo Stellato

E quella pia, che guidò le penne
delle mie ali a così alto volo,
alla risposta così mi prevenne :

" La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo
non ha con più speranza, com' è scritto
nel sol che raggia tutto nostro stuolo ;

però gli è conceduto che d' Egitto
venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,
anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.

Gli altri due punti, che, non per sapere
son domandati, ma perchè rapporti
quanto questa virtù t' è in piacere,

a lui lasc' io ; chè non gli saran forti,
nè di iattanza : ed egli a ciò risponda,
e la grazia di Dio ciò gli comporti."

Come discente ch' a dottor seconda,
pronto e libente, in quello ch' egli è sperto,
perchè la sua bontà si disasconda :

" Speme," diss' io, " è uno attender certo
della gloria futura, il qual produce
grazia divina e precedente merto.

Da molte stelle mi vien questa luce ;
ma quei la distillò nel mio cor pria,
che fu sommo cantor del sommo duce.

Sperino in te, nella sua teodia
dice, *color che sanno il nome tuo* :
e chi nol sa, s' egli ha la fede mia ?

Tu mi stillasti con lo stillar suo
nell' epistola poi, sì ch' io son pieno,
ed in altrui vostra pioggia repluo."

Mentr' io diceva, dentro al vivo seno
di quello incendio tremolava un lampo
subito e spesso, a guisa di baleno.

And that tender one who guided the feathers of my wings to so lofty flight, thus foreran me in answer : The redeemed. Beatrice

" Church militant hath not a child richer in hope, as is written in the sun who o'er-rayeth all our host ;

therefore was it granted him to come from Egypt to Jerusalem, to look on her, before the prescribed limit of his warfare.

Those two other points—asked not that thou mayst learn, but that he may bear back word how much this virtue is held in pleasure by thee,—

to him I leave; for they will not be hard, nor boastful matter, to him; so let him thereto answer, and may the grace of God concede this to him."

As the pupil who followeth the teacher, eager and glad, in that wherein he is expert, in order that his excellence may be revealed ;

" Hope," said I, " is a certain expectation of future glory, the product of divine grace and precedent merit. Hope defined

From many stars cometh this light to me ; but he first distilled it into my heart who was the supreme singer of the supreme leader.

Let them hope in thee, in his divine song he saith, *who know thy name* ; and who knoweth it not, having my faith ? Whence derived

Thou then didst bedew it on me with his bedewing, in thine Epistle, so that I am full and pour again your shower upon others."

Whilst I was speaking, within the living bosom of that flame trembled a flash sudden and dense like unto lightning.

Cielo Stellato

Indi spirò : " L' amore ond' io avvampo
ancor ver la virtù, che mi seguette
infin la palma, ed all' uscir del campo,
vuol ch' io respiri a te, che ti dilette
di lei ; ed emmi a grato che tu diche
quello che la speranza ti promette."
Ed io : " Le nuove e le scritture antiche
pongono il segno, ed esso lo mi addita.
Dell' anime che Dio s' ha fatte amiche
Dice Isaia che ciascuna vestita
nella sua terra fia di doppia vesta,
e la sua terra è questa dolce vita.
E il tuo fratello assai vie più digesta,
là dove tratta delle bianche stole,
questa rivelazion ci manifesta."
E prima, appresso al fin d' este parole,
Sperent in te, di sopra noi s' udì,
a che risposer tutte le carole ;
poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì,
sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
l' inverno avrebbe un mese d' un sol dì.
E come surge, e va, ed entra in ballo
vergine lieta, sol per fare onore
alla novizia, e non per alcun fallo,
così vid' io lo schiarato splendore
venire ai due, che si volgeano a rota,
qual conveniasi al loro ardente amore.
Misesi lì nel canto e nella nota ;
e la mia donna in lor tenne l' aspetto,
pur come sposa, tacita ed immota.
" Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto
del nostro Pellicano, e questi fue
d' in su la croce al grande offizio eletto."

Then breathed forth: "The love whence I am still aflame toward that virtue which followed me even to the palm and issuing from the field, willeth that I breathe on thee who dost delight thee in her; and further, 'tis my pleasure that thou tell the thing which hope doth promise thee." The redeemed

And I: "The new and the ancient scriptures set down the symbol, which again doth point me to the thing itself. Of the souls which God hath made his friends Content of hope Whence derived

Isaiah saith that each one shall be clad with double garb in its own land, and its own land is this sweet life.

And more worked out by far, doth thy brother, where he treateth of the white robes, set forth this revelation to us."

And, close upon the ending of these words, first rang above us, *Let them hope in thee*, whereunto all the carols answered;

then, from amongst themselves, a light flashed out, in fashion such that if the Crab contained a crystal like it, winter would have a month of one unbroken day. John

And as doth rise and go her way and enter on the dance a joyous virgin, only to do honour to the bride, and not for any wrong motive, so did I see the illumined splendour join the other two, who were wheeling round in such guise as their burning love befitted.

There it launched itself into their music and their words; and my Lady held her look upon them just like a bride, silent and unmoving.

"This is he who lay upon the breast of our Pelican, and this was he chosen from upon the Cross for the great office."

Cielo Stellato

La donna mia così; nè però più
mosse la vista sua di stare attenta
poscia, che prima, alle parole sue.

Quale è colui ch' adocchia, e s' argomenta
di vedere eclissar lo sole un poco,
che per veder non vedente diventa;

tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco,
mentre che detto fu: "Perchè t' abbagli
per veder cosa, che qui non ha loco?

In terra è terra il mio corpo, e saragli
tanto con gli altri che il numero nostro
con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.

Con le due stole nel beato chiostro
son le due luci sole che saliro;
e questo apporterai nel mondo vostro."

A questa voce l' infiammato giro
si quietò con esso il dolce mischio,
che si facea del suon del trino spiro,

sì come, per cessar fatica o rischio,
li remi, pria nell' acqua ripercossi,
tutti si posan al sonar d' un fischio.

Ahi quanto nella mente mi commossi,
quando mi volsi per veder Beatrice,
per non poter vedere, ben ch' io fossi
presso di lei, e nel mondo felice!

1-9. Compare *Ecloga*, i. 42-44, and the *Ecloga responsiva* of Johannes del Virgilio, 44-46, and Gardner, iii. 5.

7. *Fleece*; keeping up the metaphor of the lamb and the sheepfold.

14, 15. Peter.

18. James, of the "Peter, James and John," referred to in the Gospels, is James son of Zebedee, and is identified with the James said, by tradition, to have

My Lady thus; but no more after than before her words moved she her eyes from their fixed intent. The redeemed

As who doth gaze and strain to see the sun eclipsed a space, who by looking grows bereft of sight;

so did I to this last flame till a word came: "Wherefore dost dazzle thee to see that which hath here no place?

Earth in the earth my body is, and there it shall be, with the rest, until our number equalleth the eternal purpose.

With the two robes in the blessed cloister are the two lights alone which rose; and this thou shalt take back into your world." Christ and Mary

At this voice the flamed circle stilled itself, together with the sweet interlacing made by the sound of the threefold breath,

as, to avert or weariness or peril, the oars, till now smitten upon the water, all pause at a whistle's sound.

Ah! how was I stirred in my mind, turning to look on Beatrice, for that I might not see her, albeit I was nigh to her and in the world of bliss!

preached the Gospel in Spain, whose most celebrated shrine was at Compostella in Galicia. Compare *Vita Nuova*, xli. 46-50. But the James associated with Peter and John as a "pillar" of the Church in *Gal.* ii. 9 is "James the Lord's brother" (*Gal.* i. 19) mentioned in *Acts* xv. 13 and elsewhere. It is to him, and not to the son of Zebedee, that the *Epistle of James* has usually been assigned. But Dante forgets or ignores the distinction.

29, 30. *James*, i. 5.

33. *i.e.* admitted Peter, James and John to more intimate knowledge and familiarity than was extended to the other disciples. Compare *Conv.* ii. 1 : 42-51. The occasions specially referred to are the Transfiguration, the raising of the daughter of Jairus, and the agony at Gethsemane.

55-57. To gaze on the Heavenly Jerusalem before the limit of his appointed time on earth (*Job* vii. 1 : "Is there not a warfare to man upon earth?"). The Exodus from Egypt had a manifold significance. Amongst other things it was the symbol of the liberation of the soul from the bondage of the flesh; as the entry into the Promised Land and the City of God was the symbol of the heavenly life. Compare *Purg.* ii. 46, *Epist. ad Can. Grand.* 133-161 (§ 7), especially 152-155, and the cruder statement in *Conv.* ii. 1 : 14-65.

58-60. *Cf.* xvii. 10-12, xxiv. 40-42.

67-69. It is to be noted that the theological virtue of *Hope*, as understood by the Catholic Church, is not a general hopefulness of disposition, but the specific hope of the bliss of heaven. Dante's definition is closely copied from Peter Lombard's "Hope is the certain expectation of future bliss, coming from the grace of God and from preceding merits."

73. *Psalm* ix. 10. In the *Vulgate*, ix. 11, where the reading is *sperent* = "let them hope."

76, 77. *James* i. 12. "With his dropping" = 'in combination with his (David's) teaching.'

84. Martyrdom and death.

88-96. '*Isaiah* (lxi. 7, 10), in describing the gathering of the redeemed, declares that they shall *possess double things*, to wit *robes*, as your brother-apostle John in describing the same scene (*Revelation* vii. 9), makes yet

clearer. Scripture tells us, then, in symbolical language, that we shall have *two robes*, and this symbol, in its turn, assures me that we shall have joy of *body* as well as joy of *soul*. The content of my hope, then, is the unbroken immortality of the soul and the resurrection to immortality of the body.' (Compare xiv. 61-66, *note*.) The fanciful and indirect character of this scriptural support for the belief in the resurrection of the body is the more remarkable when we consider that 1 *Cor.* xv. would have furnished Dante with a perfectly explicit statement. Thomas Aquinas, as one would expect, makes frequent use of this chapter.

100-102. 'The light was as bright as the sun, so that if it had been in the Crab during the month of mid-winter (parts of December and January) when the sun is in the opposite sign of Capricorn, one or the other always being above the horizon, there would be no night.'

105. Not *performing* with any self-conscious desire for admiration, but simply throwing herself into the festivities in honour of the bride.

112-114. The pelican, supposed to feed her young with her own blood, is a frequent symbol of Christ. Further, see *John* xiii. 23; xix. 25-27.

118-126. Compare *John* xxi. 22, 23.

127-129. Christ and the Virgin (compare xxiii. 85-87, 106-126) alone ascended to heaven with the two robes (*i.e.* in the body as well as the spirit). Note that, according to the conception prevalent in the Middle Ages, Enoch and Elijah, who were also taken up bodily from the earth, were not in heaven, but in the Earthly Paradise. Perhaps the present passage may be taken as indirect evidence that Dante too accepted the tradition.

PARADISO

THE Apostle John reassures Dante as to his lost sight, which Beatrice will restore to him as Ananias of Damascus restored his to Paul; and invites him to discourse meanwhile of Love; and first to tell him what is the supreme object on which his soul's affection is fixed (1-12). Dante, resignedly awaiting Beatrice's succour, declares that he is still burning in that same flame which she brought into his heart, and that God is the beginning and end of that and of all his other loves (13-18). Moved by the Apostle to declare more at large the justification of his love Dante answers that, since good as good must be loved, to know God is of necessity to love him, and goes on to declare how Aristotle and the Scriptures have made this truth level to his capacity (19-45). When questioned as to other reasons for loving God Dante perceives that he is expected to supplement his account of the supreme love of God, as good *in himself*, by a statement of the accessory gratitude to God as good *to us*, and enumerates the creation of the

Cielo Stellato

Mentr' io dubbiava per lo viso spento,
della fulgida fiamma che lo spense
uscì un spiro che mi fece attento,
dicendo: " In tanto che tu ti risense
della vista che hai in me consunta,
ben è che ragionando la compense.
Comincia dunque, e di' ove s' appunta
l' anima tua, e fa ragion che sia
la vista in te smarrita e non defunta;
perchè la donna, che per questa dia
region ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
la virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania."

world, his own creation, the redemption and the hope of heaven. He adds that all creatures share his love in proportion as they share the good which is supreme in the creator (46-66). A hymn of praise is raised, and Dante's sight is restored to him; whereon he is bewildered by Beatrice's greater beauty and then by the presence of a fourth flame, wherein he learns the soul of Adam to abide (67-84). Overwhelmed at first, then moved to eagerness that will not brook delay, by finding himself face to face with the human being who has had such unique experience and who holds the answer to questions that have so long tantalised the world, Dante reads the answering affection of the first father in the swaying undulations of the light that clothes him, and receives the answer to his unspoken questions, as to chronology, the language of Eden, the length of the period of innocence and the nature of the sin that cost the world so dear (85-142).

Whilst I was in suspense concerning my quenched sight, I was made heedful by a breath that issued from the glowing flame which quenched it, The redeemed

saying: "Until thou hast again the sense of sight thou hast consumed on me, 'tis well thou compensate it by discourse.

Begin then, and declare whereon thy mind is focussed; and assure thee that thy sight within thee is confounded, not destroyed;

because the lady who through this divine region doth conduct thee hath in her look the power that was in Ananias' hand."

Cielo Stellato

Io dissi: " Al suo piacere e tosto e tardo
vegna rimedio agli occhi, che fur porte,
quand' ella entrò col foco ond' io sempr' ardo.
Lo ben, che fa contenta questa corte,
Alfa ed Omega è di quanta scrittura
mi legge Amore, o lievemente o forte."
Quella medesma voce, che paura
tolta m' avea del subito abbarbaglio,
di ragionare ancor mi mise in cura;
e disse: " Certo a più angusto vaglio
ti conviene schiarar; dicer convienti
che drizzò l' arco tuo a tal berzaglio."
Ed io: " Per filosofici argomenti,
e per autorità che quinci scende,
cotale amor convien che in me s' imprenti;
chè il bene, in quanto ben, come s' intende,
così accende amore, e tanto maggio,
quanto più di bontate in sè comprende.
Dunque all' essenza, ov' è tanto avvantaggio,
che ciascun ben che fuor di lei si trova
altro non è ch' un lume di suo raggio,
più che in altra convien che si mova
la mente, amando, di ciascun che cerne
lo vero, in che si fonda questa prova.
Tal vero allo intelletto mio sterne
colui che mi dimostra il primo amore
di tutte le sustanzie sempiterne.
Sternel la voce del verace autore,
che dice a Moisè, di sè parlando:
Io ti farò vedere ogni valore.
Sternilmi tu ancora, cominciando
l' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano
di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando."

I said: "At her good pleasure, soon or late, let succour come to the eyes which were the gates when she did enter with the fire wherewith I ever burn. The redeemed

The good which satisfieth this court is Alpha and Omega of all the scripture which love readeth to me with light or heavy stress." God the object of all love

That same voice which had removed my terror at the sudden dazzlement, set my concern again upon discourse,

and said: "Yea, through a closer sieve thou needs must strain; needs must thou tell me what it was that aimed thy bow at such a targe."

And I: "By philosophic arguments and by authority which down-cometh hence, such love must needs stamp itself on me; Why loved primarily

for good, as good, so far as understood, kindleth love, and so much more by how much more of excellence it graspeth in itself.

Therefore to the Essence which hath such privilege that whatsoever good be found outside of it is naught else save a light of its own ray,

more than to any other must the mind needs move, in love, of whoso doth discern the truth whereon this proof is founded.

And this same truth is made level to my intellect by him who doth reveal to me the primal love of all the eternal beings.

It is made level to me by the voice of that veracious author who saith to Moses, speaking of himself: *I will cause thee to see all worth.*

It is made level to me by thee also, where thou openest the lofty proclamation which doth herald upon earth the secrets of this place above all other declaration."

Cielo Stellato

Ed io udi': " Per intelletto umano,
e per autoritadi a lui concorde,
de' tuoi amori a Dio guarda il soprano.
Ma di' ancor, se tu senti altre corde
tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone
con quanti denti questo amor ti morde."
Non fu latente la santa intenzione
dell' aquila di Cristo, anzi m' accorsi
dove volea menar mia professione.
Però ricominciai: " Tutti quei morsi,
che posson far lo cor volger a Dio,
alla mia caritate son concorsi;
chè l' essere del mondo, e l' esser mio,
la morte ch' ei sostenne perch' io viva,
e quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io,
con la predetta conoscenza viva,
tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor torto,
e del diritto m' han posto alla riva.
Le fronde, onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
dell' ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto,
quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto."
Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto
risonò per lo cielo, e la mia donna
dicea con gli altri: " Santo, Santo, Santo!"
E come a lume acuto si dissonna
per lo spirto visivo che ricorre
allo splendor che va di gonna in gonna,
e lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre,
sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia,
fin che l' estimativa nol soccorre;
così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia
fugò Beatrice col raggio de' suoi,
che rifulgean da più di mille milia;

And I heard: "As urged by human intellect and by authorities concordant with it, of thy loves keep for God the sovereign one. The redeemed

But tell me yet if thou feel other cords draw thee towards him, so that thou utter forth with how many teeth this love doth grip thee."

Not hidden was the sacred purpose of Christ's eagle, but rather I perceived whither he willed to lead on my profession.

Wherefore I began again: "All those tooth-grips which have power to make the heart turn unto God, co-work upon my love;

for the being of the world and my own being, the death that he sustained that I might live, and that which each believer hopeth, as do I, Secondary causes of love

together with the aforesaid living consciousness, have drawn me from the sea of the perverted and placed me on the shore of the right love.

The leaves wherewith all the garden of the eternal Gardener is leafed, I love in measure of the good that hath been proffered to them from him."

Soon as I held my peace a sweetest song rang through the Heaven, and my Lady with the rest cried: "Holy, Holy, Holy!"

And as at a keen light one wakeneth from slumber by reason of the visual spirit which runneth to meet the glow that pierceth tunic after tunic, Sight recovered

and he thus awakened confoundeth what he seeth, so undiscerning is his sudden vigil until reflection cometh to its succour;

so from mine eyes did Beatrice dissipate every scale with the ray of hers that might cast their glow more than a thousand miles;

Cielo Stellato

onde, me' che dinanzi, vidi poi,
e quasi stupefatto domandai
d' un quarto lume, ch' io vidi con noi.
E la mia donna : " Dentro da que' rai
vagheggia il suo fattor l' anima prima,
che la prima virtù creasse mai."
Come la fronda, che flette la cima
nel transito del vento, e poi si leva
per la propria virtù che la sublima,
fec' io in tanto in quanto ella diceva,
stupendo ; e poi mi rifece sicuro
un disio di parlare, ond' io ardeva ;
e cominciai : " O pomo, che maturo
solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
a cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro ;
devoto, quanto posso, a te supplico
perchè mi parli : tu vedi mia voglia,
e, per udirti tosto, non la dico."
Talvolta un animal coperto broglia
sì che l' affetto convien che si paia,
per lo seguir che face a lui l' invoglia ;
e similmente l' anima primaia
mi facea trasparer per la coperta
quant' ella a compiacermi venia gaia.
Indi spirò : " Senz' essermi profferta
da te, la voglia tua discerno meglio
che tu qualunque cosa t' è più certa ;
perch' io la veggio nel verace speglio
che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,
e nulla face lui di sè pareglio.
Tu vuoi saper quant' è che Dio mi pose
nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei
a così lunga scala ti dispose,

whence better than before I saw thereafter, and as one stupefied, made question as to a fourth light which I perceived with us. The redeemed

And my Lady: "Within those rays holdeth amorous converse with its Maker the first soul that the first Power e'er created." Adam

As the spray which bendeth down its head when the wind passeth over, and doth then uplift itself by its own power which doth raise it up,

did I, whilst she was speaking, all bemazed; and then was reassured by a desire to speak, wherewith I was a-burning;

and I began: "O fruit, who wast alone produced mature, O ancient father who hast both daughter and daughter-in-law in every bride; Dante's silent questioning

devoutly as I may do I implore thee that thou speak to me; thou seest my will, and to hear thee the sooner I utter it not."

Sometimes an animal swayeth beneath a covering so that its impulse must needs be apparent, since what envelopeth it followeth its movements;

and in like manner that first soul made appear through its covering with what elation it advanced to do me pleasure.

And from it breathed: "Though not set forth to me by thee, I better do discern thy will than thou the thing which is most certain to thee, Adam's reply

because I see it in the veracious Mirror which doth make himself reflector of all other things, and naught doth make itself reflector unto him.

Thou wouldst know how long the time since God placed me in the uplifted garden wherein she there prepared thee for so long a stair,

Cielo Stellato

e quanto fu diletto agli occhi miei,
e la propria cagion del gran disdegno,
e l' idioma ch' usai e ch' io fei.

Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar del legno
fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
ma solamente il trapassar del segno.

Quindi, onde mosse tua donna Virgilio,
quattromila trecento e due volumi
di sol desiderai questo concilio ;

e vidi lui tornare a tutti i lumi
della sua strada novecento trenta
fiate, mentre ch' io in terra fu' mi.

La lingua ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta
innanzi assai ch' all' opra inconsumabile
fosse la gente di Nembrot attenta ;

chè nullo effetto mai razionabile,
per lo piacere uman, che rinnovella,
seguendo il cielo, sempre fu durabile.

Opera naturale è ch' uom favella ;
ma, così o così, natura lascia
poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbella.

Pria ch' io scendessi all' infernale ambascia,
J s' appellava in terra il sommo bene,
onde vien la letizia che mi fascia ;

El si chiamò da poi, e ciò conviene,
chè l' uso de' mortali è come fronda
in ramo, che sen va ed altra viene.

Nel monte, che si leva più dall' onda,
fu' io, con vita pura, e disonesta,
dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda,

come il sol muta quadra, l' ora sesta."

12. *Acts* ix. 10-18.

28-30. Compare xxviii. 106-111, as well as xiv. 40 *sqq.*, and other passages, and see *note* on 37-39.

and how long the delight endured unto my eyes, and the true cause of the great indignation, and the idiom which I used and which myself composed. The redeemed

Now know, my son, that not the tasting of the tree was in itself the cause of so great exile, but only the transgressing of the mark.

From that place whence thy Lady dispatched Virgil, four thousand three hundred and two revolutions of the sun went out my longing for this gathering; Chronology

and I beheld him course through all the lights of his path nine hundred times and thirty whilst I abode on earth.

The tongue I spoke was all quenched long ere the work that ne'er might be completed was undertaken by the folk of Nimrod;

for never yet did product of the reason maintain itself for ever, because of human preference which doth change in sequence with the heaven.

That man should speak is nature's doing; but thus or thus nature permitteth to you as best seemeth you.

Ere I descended to the infernal anguish, *J* was the name on earth of that Supreme Good whence cometh the gladness that doth swathe me; Divine names

El was he called thereafter; and this is fitting, for the use of mortals is as the leaf upon the branch which goeth and another followeth.

On the mount which most doth arise from out the wave was I, with life pure and disgraced, from the first hour to that which followeth, when the sun changeth quadrant, next on the sixth hour."

34-36. 'Whosoever perceives that God is the supreme good (the truth on which rests the proof

that he is the supreme object of love) cannot fail to love him supremely.'

37-39. This is clearly *Aristotle*, who teaches that God is the supreme object towards whom the heavens yearn (Wallace, 39 and 46, as above). The extension of this idea from the heavens to the Angels or Deities is not remote from Aristotle's spirit, and is entirely germane to Dante's conception of it. (Compare *Conv.* ii. 5; and also *Parad.* ii. 139-144, *note.*) The principle of lines 28-30 underlies all Aristotle's philosophy; but perhaps Dante had specially in mind the passage in the *Metaphysics* where Aristotle says that what moves other things, though itself unmoved, is "the object of longing" or "the object of intellectual apprehension"; and adds that "the principles of these two are identical." Albertus (with whom Thomas substantially agrees) interprets them as meaning *appetibile bonum* and *intelligibile bonum*, 'that which asserts itself as good to our desire' and 'that which asserts itself as good to our intellect.' He goes on to explain that the former may be delusive and may be resisted, but the latter "provoketh our longing without let and without intermediary; because there is no need that it should first announce itself as good through the sense in order to stir the appetite; nor is there any clog to it on the part of the receiving intellect, since the thing loved is good in itself and . . . winneth the undivided longing of him upon whom it is poured."

42. *Exodus* xxxiii. 19. The Vulgate reads, "*ego ostendam omne bonum tibi.*"

43-45. Probably the reference is to *Rev.* i. 8. Others understand 1 *John* iv. 16; but it seems impossible to take these three lines as anything but an express description of the *Apocalypse.*

53. *Christ's eagle.* Compare *Rev.* iv. 7. See also *Purg.* xxix. 88-105.

72. The various coats of the eye.

106-108. Both the construing and the interpretation of this passage have given rise to much dispute. The translation here given takes it to mean that everything is perfectly reflected in God, and therefore he who looks on God sees everything perfectly. But no single thing and no single truth (nor even the sum of them all, compare xix. 40-45) is a com-

plete and perfect reflection of God. Therefore he who sees anything, or everything, apart from God, cannot see it in its completeness. Hence he who looks on God sees the most secret and complex thing more perfectly than he can grasp even the most axiomatic truth in detachment. Compare xxxiii. 100-105; also ii. 43-45; vi. 19-21.

110, 111. The Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden, where Beatrice met Dante.

115-117. Speculations were frequent as to whether the eating of the fruit was to be taken literally, or whether it was a mere veil under which some more heinous offence was really indicated. These lines are intended to brush aside such speculations, and to explain that no breach of a direct command of God can be regarded as trivial. Compare Anselm: "Wert thou to find thyself in the presence of God, and were one to say to thee, *Look this way*, and God counterwise, *I would by no means have thee look that way*, search thou in thy heart what there is amongst all things that are, for which thou shouldst cast that glance, counter to the will of God." Anselm's interlocutor declares that he would not do it to save the whole creation, no, nor to save many creations, did such exist.

118. Limbo. Compare *Inf.* ii. and iv. 43-63, especially 55.

124-126. Contrast *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 6: 38-61.

128, 129. *i.e.* Human pleasure, choice, or preference, varies under the changing influence of the heavenly bodies.

134. To be pronounced *jah*. Compare *Psalm* lxviii. 4 (*Psalm* lxvii. 5 in the Vulgate, which reads *Dominu nomen illi*. But Jerome had noted the Hebrew reading here and elsewhere, and had passed the name *Jah* into the current of Christian tradition). There are many proper names and some other words compounded with the divine name in this form, such as *Hallelujah*.

136. *El*, signifiying "the Mighty," is, according to Hebrew lexicographers, "the most ancient and general name" for Deity. It frequently occurs in various books of the Bible. But the more common designation is *Elohim*, probably not to be connected etymologically with *El*.

139-142. The life in Paradise, therefore, only endured six hours, or something over.

PARADISO

THE poet's ear and eye drink for a space of the glory of Paradise (1-9) and afterwards, amid deep silence, first the light of Peter glows red with indignation as he denounces the doings of Pope Boniface VIII. (10-27); then all heaven is suffused with the same glow and Beatrice's cheek flushes as at a tale of shame, while Peter pursues his denunciation, including Clement the Gascon and John of Cahors in its sweep; and then promises redress and bids Dante bear the news to earth (28-66). The triumphant spirits, like flashes of flame, rain upwards into the higher heaven, and Beatrice bids Dante look down upon the earth (67-78). Dante is in Gemini and the Sun in Aries, with Taurus between, and therefore the half of the earth illuminated by the sun does not correspond with the half that the Seer commands. He sees the earth as we see the moon when she is past the full. The illuminated portion stretches from far west of Gibraltar to the shore of the Levant; and the

Cielo Stellato

" Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo "
cominciò " Gloria " tutto il Paradiso,
sì che m' inebbriava il dolce canto.

Ciò ch' io vedeva, mi sembiava un riso
dell' universo; per che mia ebbrezza
entrava per l' udire e per lo viso.

O gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!
o vita intera d' amore e di pace!
o senza brama sicura ricchezza!

Dinanzi agli occhi miei le quattro face
stavano accese, e quella che pria venne
incominciò a farsi più vivace;

e tal nella sembianza sua divenne,
qual diverrebbe Giove, se' egli e Marte
fossero augelli, e cambiassersi penne.

CANTO XXVII

darkened portion stretches farther east (79-87). Turning back with renewed longing to Beatrice Dante sees her yet more beautiful and rises with her to the *Primum Mobile* (88-99). Beatrice expounds to him how time and space take their source and measure from this sphere, and have no relevancy to aught that lies beyond it. It is girt (how, God only understandeth) not by space but by the Divine light and love (100-120). Then, with deep yearning, Beatrice turns her thoughts back to the besotted world wherein faith and innocence find refuge only in the hearts and lives of infants, and where humanity blackens from its birth (121-138). And all this not because of any inherent degeneracy but because there is none to rule. But ere the hundredth of a day by which the Julian exceeds the Solar year shall by its accumulations have made January cease to be a Winter month! the course shall be reversed (139-148).

All Paradise took up the strain, "To the Father, to the Son, to the Holy Spirit, glory!" so that the sweet song intoxicated me. The redeemed

Meseemed I was beholding a smile of the universe; wherefore my intoxication entered both by hearing and by sight.

O joy! O gladness unspeakable! O life compact of love and peace! O wealth secure that hath no longing!

Before mine eyes the four torches stood enkindled, and the one which had first approached me began to grow more living;

and such became in semblance as would Jupiter if he and Mars were birds and should exchange their plumage.

Cielo Stellato

La provvidenza, che quivi comparte
vice ed officio, nel beato coro
silenzio posto avea da ogni parte,
quando io udi' : " Se io mi trascoloro,
non ti maravigliar ; chè, dicend' io,
vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.
Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il loco mio,
il loco mio, il loco mio che vaca
nella presenza del figliuol di Dio,
fatto ha del cimitero mio cloaca
del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa."
Di quel color, che per lo sole avverso
nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso :
e, come donna onesta, che permane
di sè sicura, e, per l' altrui fallanza,
pure ascoltando, timida si fane,
così Beatrice trasmutò sembianza ;
e tal eclissi credo che in ciel fue,
quando patì la suprema possanza.
Poi procedetter le parole sue
con voce tanto da sè trasmutata,
che la sembianza non si mutò piùe :
" Non fu la sposa di Cristo allevata
del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata ;
ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto
e Sisto e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano
sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto.
Non fu nostra intenzion ch' a destra mano
dei nostri successor parte sedesse,
parte dall' altra, del popol Cristiano ;

The providence which there assigneth function and office had imposed silence on the blessed choir on every side, The redeemed Peter

when I heard: "If I transform my hue, marvel thou not; for, as I speak, thou shalt see all of these transform it too.

He who usurpeth upon earth my place, my place, my place, which in the presence of the Son of God is vacant,

hath made my burial-ground a conduit for that blood and filth, whereby the apostate one who fell from here above, is soothed down there below."

With that colour which painteth a cloud at even or at morn by the opposing sun, did I then see all heaven o'erfused; Wrath in heaven

and as a modest dame who remaineth sure of herself, yet at another's fault, though only hearing it, feeleth all timid,

so Beatrice changed her semblance; and such, I take it, was the eclipse in heaven when the supreme Might suffered.

Then his discourse proceeded, with voice so far transmuted from itself, that even his semblance had not altered more:

"The spouse of Christ was not reared upon my blood, and that of Linus and of Cletus, that she might then be used for gain of gold; Ancient popes

but 'twas for gain of this glad life that Sixtus and Pius, Calixtus and Urban shed their blood after many a tear.

It was not our purpose that on the right hand of our successors one part of the Christian folk should sit, and one part on the other;

Cielo Stellato

nè che le chiavi, che mi fur concesse, 49
divenisser segnacolo in vessillo,
che contra i battezzati combattesse ;

nè ch' io fossi figura di sigillo 52
ai privilegi venduti e mendaci,
ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.

In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci 55
si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.
O difesa di Dio, perchè pur giaci ?

Del sangue nostro Caorsini e Guaschi 58
s' apparecchian di bere. O buon principio,
a che vil fine convien che tu caschi !

Ma l' alta provvidenza, che con Scipio 61
difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio.

E tu, figliuol, che per lo mortal pondo 64
ancor giù tornerai, apri la bocca,
e non asconder quel ch' io non ascondo."

Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca 67
in giuso l' aer nostro, quando il corno
della Capra del ciel col sol si tocca ;

in su vid' io così l' etere adorno 70
farsi, e fioccar di vapor trionfanti,
che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.

Lo viso mio seguiva i suoi sembianti, 73
e seguì in fin che il mezzo, per lo molto,
gli tolse il trapassar del più avanti.

Onde la donna, che mi vide assolto 76
dell' attendere in su, mi disse : " Adima
il viso, e guarda come tu sei volto."

Dall' ora ch' io avea guardato prima, 79
io vidi mosso me per tutto l'arco
che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima ;

nor that the keys given in grant to me should become the ensign on a standard waging war on the baptised ; The redeemed

nor that I should become the head upon the seal to sold and lying privileges, whereat I often blush and shoot forth flames.

In garb of pastors ravening wolves are seen from here above in all the pastures. Succour of God ! Oh wherefore liest thou prone ?

Cahorsines and Gascons make ready to drink our blood. Oh fair beginning, to what vile ending must thou fall ! Modern popes

But the lofty Providence, which with Scipio defended the glory of the world for Rome, will soon bring succour, as I deem.

And thou, my son, who, for thy mortal weight, shalt return below once more, open thy mouth and hide thou not the thing which I hide not."

As our atmosphere raineth down in flakes the frozen vapours when the horn of the heavenly Goat is touched by the sun ;

so did I see the ether adorn itself and rain upward the flakes of the triumphant flashes, which had made sojourn there with us.

My sight was following their semblance, and followed till the medium, by excess, deprived it of the power to pierce more far.

Whereat the Lady, who saw me now absolved from straining upward, said to me: "Down plunge thy sight and see how thou hast rolled." Retrospect

From the hour at which I had before looked down, I saw that I had moved through the whole arc which the first Climate makes from middle unto end ;

Cielo Stellato
sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco
folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco.

E più mi fora discoperto il sito
di questa aiuola ; ma il sol procedea,
sotto i miei piedi, un segno e più partito.

Salita
La mente innamorata, che donnea
con la mia donna sempre, di ridure
ad essa gli occhi più che mai ardea :

e se natura od arte fe' pasture
da pigliare occhi, per aver la mente,
in carne umana o nelle sue pitture,

tutte adunate parrebber niente
ver lo piacer divin che mi rifulse,
quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.

Primo Mobile
E la virtù, che lo sguardo m' indulse,
del bel nido di Leda mi divelse,
e nel ciel velocissimo m' impulse.

Le parti sue vivissime ed eccelse
sì uniformi son ch' io non so dire
qual Beatrice per loco mi scelse.

Ma ella, che vedeva il mio disire,
incominciò, ridendo tanto lieta
che Dio parea nel suo volto gioire :

" La natura del mondo, che quieta
il mezzo, e tutto l' altro intorno move,
quinci comincia come da sua meta.

E questo cielo non ha altro dove
che la mente divina, in che s' accende
l' amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove.

Luce ed amor d' un cerchio lui comprende,
sì come questo gli altri, e quel precinto
colui che il cinge solamente intende.

so that I saw beyond Cadiz the mad way which Ulysses took, and on this side, hard by the shore whereon Europa made herself a sweet burden. The redeemed

And further had the site of this threshing-floor been unfolded to me, save that the sun was in advance beneath my feet, severed by a Sign and more from me.

My enamoured mind, which held amorous converse ever with my Lady, burned more than ever to bring back my eyes to her ;

and whatsoever food nature or art e'er made, to catch the eyes and so possess the mind, be it in human flesh, be it in pictures,

if all united, would seem naught towards the divine delight which glowed upon me when I turned me to her smiling face.

And the power of which that look made largess to me, from the fair nest of Leda plucked me forth, and into the swiftest heaven thrust me. The swiftest heaven

Its parts most living and exalted are so uniform that I know not to tell which Beatrice chose for my position.

But she, who saw my longing, smiling began —so glad that God seemed joying in her countenance—

" The nature of the universe which stilleth the centre and moveth all the rest around, hence doth begin as from its starting point.

And this heaven hath no other *where* than the divine mind wherein is kindled the love which rolleth it and the power which it sheddeth.

Light and love grasp it in one circle, as doth it the others, and this engirdment he only who doth gird it understandeth.

Primo Mobile

Non è suo moto per altro distinto ;
ma gli altri son misurati da questo,
sì come dieci da mezzo e da quinto.
E come il tempo tenga in cotal testo
le sue radici e negli altri le fronde,
omai a te puot' esser manifesto.
O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde
sì sotto te, che nessuno ha potere
di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde !
Ben fiorisce negli uomini il volere ;
ma la pioggia continua converte
in bozzacchioni le susine vere.
Fede ed innocenza son reperte
solo nei parvoletti ; poi ciascuna
pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
Tale, balbuziendo ancor, digiuna,
che poi divora, con la lingua sciolta,
qualunque cibo per qualunque luna ;
e tal, balbuziendo, ama ed ascolta
la madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
disira poi di vederla sepolta.
Così si fa la pelle bianca, nera,
nel primo aspetto, della bella figlia
di quei ch' apporta mane e lascia sera.
Tu, perchè non ti facci maraviglia,
pensa che in terra non è chi governi ;
onde sì svia l' umana famiglia.
Ma prima che gennaio tutto si sverni,
per la centesma ch' è laggiù negletta,
ruggiran sì questi cerchi superni
che la fortuna, che tanto s' aspetta,
le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,
sì che la classe correrà diretta ;
e vero frutto verrà dopo il fiore."

Its movement by no other is marked out; but by it all the rest are measured, as ten by half and fifth. **The angels**

And how Time in this same vessel hath its roots, and in the rest its leaves, may now be manifest to thee. **The roots of time**

O greed, who so dost abase mortals below thee, that not one hath power to draw his eyes forth from thy waves!

'Tis true the will in men hath vigour yet; but the continuous drench turneth true plum fruits into cankered tubers.

Faith and innocence are found only in little children; then each of them fleeth away before the cheeks are covered. **Degeneracy on earth**

Many a still lisping child observeth fast, who after, when his tongue is free, devoureth every food in every month;

and many a lisping child loveth and hearkeneth to his mother, who after, when his speech is full, longeth to see her buried.

So blackeneth at the first aspect the white skin of his fair daughter who bringeth morn and leaveth evening.

And thou, lest thou make marvel at it, reflect that there is none to govern upon earth, wherefore the human household so strayeth from the path.

But, ere that January be all unwintered by that hundredth part neglected upon earth, so shall these upper circles roar

that the fated season so long awaited shall turn round the poops where are the prows, so that the fleet shall have straight course; and true fruit shall follow on the flower."

13-15. Changed from white to red.

22-24. The charge of usurpation and the declaration that the Papacy is vacant doubtless bear a specific reference to the measures which Boniface took to force his predecessor Celestine V. (compare *Inf.* iii. 58-60) to resign. See Villani, viii. 5. But Dante does not consistently regard Boniface as a no-pope. Compare *Purg.* xx. 85-90.

40-45. A selection of the Popes of the first three centuries.

46-48. Refers to the Papal hostility to the adherents of the Empire.

49-51. Perhaps a specific reference to the struggle of Boniface with the Colonna family. Compare *Inf.* xxvii. 85-90. Villani, viii. 23.

58. Clement V. (1305-1314) was a Gascon, and John XXII. (1316-1334) a native of Cahors.

61. Cf. *note* to vi. 53, and *Conv.* iv. 5: 164-171.

69. The Sun is in Capricorn in parts of December and January.

74, 75. Contrast xxx. 121-123; xxxi. 78.

79-81. Compare xxii. 124-154. The "climata" are latitudinal divisions which may be applied equally to the heavens and the earth. There is some difference of usage amongst the mediæval geographers, but it seems probable that Dante regarded the Twins, in which he was situated, as lying on the upper confines of the first clima. The passage, therefore, seems to mean simply, 'I had revolved, with the first clima, through a whole quadrant.'

83, 84. It was now sunset on the coast of Phœnicia, where Jupiter, in the form of a bull, took Europa on his shoulders. From this we must calculate back to the position indicated at the close of Canto xxii. It should be borne in mind that according to Dante's geography Jerusalem was the centre of the inhabited globe; the mouths of the Ganges were the extreme to the east, 90° distant from Jerusalem; and Gibraltar the extreme to the west, also 90° from Jerusalem; Rome being midway between Jerusalem and Gibraltar. The maps on pp. 396, 397, will complete the explanation.

98. The twins, Castor and Pollux, children of Leda, whom Jupiter wooed in the form of a swan.

106-108. 'The *natural property* in virtue of which,' etc. Compare iv. 131, *note*.

136-138. A difficult and disputed passage. Line 138 can only mean "the Sun"; and since he is the "father of each mortal life" (xxii. 116), and since man is "begotten by man and by the sun" (compare *De Monarchia*, i. 9: 6, 7), we are perhaps right in taking his "fair daughter" to be *Humanity*.

142, 143. The Julian calendar (which we rectified in 1752) makes the year 11 m. 14 sec. (very roughly one hundredth of a day) too long. In Dante's time, therefore, January began, by calendar, a little later in the real year every season; and thus, in the course of ages, it would begin so late that winter would really be over before we came to New Year's Day by calendar. The substitution of an immense period for a short one is parallel to our "not a thousand miles hence."

PARADISO

AFTER Beatrice's discourse Dante, gazing upon her eyes, is suddenly aware of the reflection in them of a thing which was not in his sight or thought (1-12), and on turning to see what it may be he perceives a point of intensest light (13-21) with nine concentric circles wheeling round it; swift and bright in proportion to their nearness to the point (22-39). Beatrice, quoting Aristotle's phrase concerning God, declares that Heaven and all Nature hang upon that point, and bids Dante note the burning love that quickens the movement of the inmost circle (40-45). Thereon Dante at once perceives that the nine circles represent the Intelligences or angelic orders connected with the nine revolving heavens, but cannot see why the outmost, swiftest, widest sweeping and most divine heaven should correspond with the inmost and smallest angelic circle (46–57). Beatrice explains that, the divine substance of the heavens being uniform, that heaven which is materially greatest has in it the most of excellence; but it is the excellence, not the size, that is essential. In like manner swiftness and brightness are the measure of the excellence of the angelic circles, and therefore

Primo Mobile

Poscia che contro alla vita presente
dei miseri mortali aperse il vero
quella che imparadisa la mia mente;

come in lo specchio fiamma di doppiero
vede colui che se n' alluma retro,
prima che l' abbia in vista o in pensiero,

e sè rivolge, per veder se il vetro
gli dice il vero, e vede ch' ei s' accorda
con esso, come nota con suo metro;

così la mia memoria si ricorda
ch' io feci, riguardando nei begli occhi,
onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda:

the inmost of them which is swiftest and brightest represents those intelligences that love and know most; and the spiritual correspondence is complete between the two diverse spatial presentations. Thus the relativity of space-conceptions is suggested. God may be conceived as the spaceless centre of the universe just as well as the all-embracer (58-78). Dante, now enlightened, sees the circles shoot out countless sparks that follow them in their whirling; and hears them all sing Hosanna; while Beatrice further explains how the swift joy of the angels is proportioned to their sight, their sight to their merit, won by grace and by exercise of will; whereas love is not the foundation but the inevitable consequence of knowledge (79-129). She has explained the three hierarchies and nine orders of the Angels, as Dionysius (enlightened by his own intense passion of contemplation, and instructed by Paul who had been rapt up to heaven) had set them forth. Gregory, having departed from the scheme of Dionysius, smiled at his own error when he beheld this heaven (130–139).

The angels

When, counter to the present life of wretched mortals, the truth had been revealed by her who doth imparadise my mind;

as in the mirror a taper's flame, kindled behind a man, is seen of him or ere itself be in his sight or thought,

and he turneth back to see whether the glass speak truth to him, and seeth it accordant with it as song-words to their measure;

so doth my memory recall that I did so, gazing upon the beauteous eyes whence love had made the noose to capture me;

Primo Mobile

e com' io mi rivolsi, e furon tocchi
li miei da ciò che pare in quel volume,
quandunque nel suo giro ben s' adocchi,

un punto vidi che raggiava lume
acuto sì che il viso, ch' egli affoca,
chiuder conviensi, per lo forte acume ;

e quale stella par quinci più poca,
parrebbe luna locata con esso,
come stella con stella si colloca.

Forse cotanto, quanto pare appresso
alo cinger la luce che il dipigne,
quando il vapor, che il porta, più è spesso,

distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne
si girava sì ratto, ch' avria vinto
quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne ;

e questo era d' un altro circuncinto,
e quel dal terzo, e il terzo poi dal quarto,
dal quinto il quarto, e poi dal sesto il quinto.

Sopra seguiva il settimo, sì sparto
già di larghezza, che il messo di Juno
intero a contenerlo sarebbe arto.

Così l' ottavo e il nono ; e ciascheduno
più tardo si movea, secondo ch' era
in numero distante più dall' uno ;

e quello avea la fiamma più sincera,
cui men distava la favilla pura ;
credo, però che più di lei s' invera.

La donna mia, che mi vedeva in cura
forte sospeso, disse : " Da quel punto
depende il cielo, e tutta la natura.

Mira quel cerchio che più gli è congiunto,
e sappi che il suo movere è sì tosto
per l' affocato amore ond' egli è punto."

and when I turned, and mine own were smitten by what appeareth in that orb whene'er upon its circling the eye is rightly fixed, **The angels**

a point I saw which rayed forth light so keen, needs must the vision that it flameth on be closed because of its strong poignancy;

and whatever star from here appeareth smallest, were seen a moon neighboured with it, as star with star is neighboured.

Perhaps as close as the halo seemeth to gird the luminary that doth paint it, when the vapour which supporteth it is thickest, **God and the angelic hierarchies**

at such interval around the point there wheeled a circle of fire so rapidly it had surpassed the motion which doth swiftest gird the universe;

and this was by a second girt around, that by a third, and the third by a fourth, by a fifth the fourth, then by a sixth the fifth.

Thereafter followed the seventh, already in its stretch so far outspread that were the messenger of Juno made complete, it were too strait to hold it.

And so the eighth and ninth; and each one moved slower according as in number it was more remote from unity;

and that one had the clearest flame, from which the pure spark was least distant; because, I take it, it sinketh deepest into the truth thereof.

My Lady, who beheld me in toil of deep suspense, said: "From that point doth hang **God**
heaven and all nature.

Look on that circle which is most conjoint thereto, and know its movement is so swift by reason of the enkindled love whereby 'tis pierced."

Primo Mobile

Ed io a lei : " Se il mondo fosse posto
con l' ordine, ch' io veggio in quelle rote,
sazio m' avrebbe ciò che m' è proposto.

Ma nel mondo sensibile si puote
veder le volte tanto più divine,
quant' elle son dal centro più remote.

Onde, se il mio disio dee aver fine
in questo miro ed angelico templo,
chè solo amore e luce ha per confine,

udir conviemmi ancor perchè l' esempio
e l' esemplare non vanno d' un modo ;
chè io per me indarno ciò contemplo."

" Se li tuoi diti non sono a tal nodo
sufficienti, non è maraviglia,
tanto, per non tentare, è fatto sodo."

Così la donna mia ; poi disse : " Piglia
quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia.

Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti,
secondo il più e il men della virtute,
che si distende per tutte lor parti.

Maggior bontà vuol far maggior salute ;
maggior salute maggior corpo cape,
s' egli ha le parti egualmente compiute.

Dunque costui, che tutto quante rape
l' altro universo seco, corrisponde
al cerchio che più ama e che più sape.

Per che, se tu alla virtù circonde
la tua misura, non alla parvenza
delle sustanzie che t' appaion tonde,

tu vederai mirabil conseguenza,
di maggio a più e di minore a meno,
in ciascun cielo, a sua intelligenza."

The angels

And I to her: "Were the universe disposed in the order I behold in these wheelings, then were I satisfied with what is set before me.

But in the universe of sense we may see the circlings more divine as from the centre they are more removed.

Wherefore, if it behoveth my desire to find its goal in this wondrous and angelic temple which hath only love and light for boundary,

Hierarchies and spheres

needs must I further hear wherefore the copy and the pattern go not in one fashion; for, for myself, I gaze on it in vain."

"And if for such a knot thy fingers are not able, no marvel is it; so hard hath it become by never being tried."

So my Lady; and then said: "Take that which I shall tell thee, wouldst thou be satisfied, and ply thy wit around it.

The corporeal circles are ample or strait according to the more or less of the virtue which spreadeth over all their parts.

Greater excellence hath purpose to work greater weal; and greater weal is comprehended in the greater body if that the parts be equally consummate.

Their congruence

Therefore the one which sweepeth with it all the rest of the universe, correspondeth to the circle that most loveth and most knoweth.

Wherefore, if thou draw thy measure round the virtue, not the semblance, of the substances which appear to thee in circles,

thou wilt see a wondrous agreement of greater unto more and smaller unto less in every heaven with its Intelligence."

Primo Mobile

Come rimane splendido e sereno
l' emisperio dell' aer, quando soffia
Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno,
per che si purga e risolve la roffia
che pria turbava, sì che il ciel ne ride
con le bellezze d' ogni sua paroffia,
così fec' io, poi che mi provvide
la donna mia del suo risponder chiaro,
e, come stella in cielo, il ver si vide.
E poi che le parole sue restaro,
non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro.
Lo incendio lor seguiva ogni scintilla ;
ed eran tante, che il numero loro
più che il doppiar degli scacchi s' immilla.
Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro
al punto fisso che li tiene all' *ubi*,
e terrà sempre, nel qual sempre foro ;
e quella, che vedeva i pensier dubi
nella mia mente, disse : " I cerchi primi
t' hanno mostrati i Serafi e i Cherubi.
Così veloci seguono i suoi vimi,
per simigliarsi al punto quanto ponno,
e posson quanto a veder son sublimi.
Quegli altri amor, che intorno a lor vonno,
si chiaman Troni del divin aspetto,
perchè il primo ternaro terminonno.
E dei saper che tutti hanno diletto,
quanto la sua veduta si profonda
nel vero, in che si queta ogn' intelletto.
Quinci si può veder come si fonda
l' esser beato nell' atto che vede,
non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda ;

The angels

As the hemisphere of air becometh shining and serene when Boreas bloweth from his gentler cheek,

whereby is purged and is resolved the film which erst obscured it, so that the heaven laugheth with the beauties of its every district,

so did I, when my Lady had made provision to me of her clear-shining answer; and like a star in heaven the truth was seen.

And when her words stayed, not otherwise doth iron shoot forth sparkles, when it boileth, than did the circles sparkle.

Angelic sports

And every spark followed their blaze; and their numbers were such as ran to thousands beyond the duplication of the chessboard.

From choir to choir I heard Hosanna sung to that fixed point which holdeth and shall ever hold them to the *where*, in which they have been ever;

The hierarchies

and she who saw the questioning thoughts within my mind, said: "The first circles have revealed to thee the Seraphs and the Cherubs.

So swift they follow their withies that they may liken them unto the point as most they may; and they succeed in measure as they are sublime in vision.

Those other loves which course around them are named Thrones of the divine aspect, because they brought to its completion the first ternary.

And thou shouldst know that all have their delight in measure as their sight sinketh more deep into the truth wherein every intellect is stilled.

Hence may be seen how the being blessed is founded on the act that seeth, not that which loveth, which after followeth;

Primo Mobile

e del vedere è misura mercede,
che grazia partorisce e buona voglia;
così di grado in grado si procede.

L' altro ternaro, che così germoglia
in questa primavera sempiterna,
che notturno Ariete non dispoglia,

perpetualemente Osanna sverna
con tre melode, che suonano in tree
ordini di letizia, onde s' interna.

In essa gerarchia son le tre dee:
prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi;
l' ordine terzo di Podestadi èe.

Poscia nei due penultimi tripudi
Principati ed Arcangeli si girano;
l' ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.

Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,
e di giù vincon sì che verso Dio
tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano.

E Dionisio con tanto disio
a contemplar questi ordini si mise,
che li nomò e distinse com' io.

Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise;
onde, sì tosto come l' occhio aperse
in questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise.

E se tanto segreto ver proferse
mortale in terra, non voglio ch' ammiri;
chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoperse
con altro assai del ver di questi giri."

13-15. *Mine own, sc.* "eyes." "The heavens declare the glory of God," *Psalm* xix. 1; and whoso looketh at them aright perceives that glory.

16. "And it has been shown that this Being [the Divine Being] hath not magnitude, but is without parts and indivisible."—Aristotle.

and the measure of sight is the merit which grace begetteth and the righteous will; and thus from rank to rank the progress goeth. The angels

The second ternary which thus flowereth in this eternal spring which nightly Aries doth not despoil,

unceasingly unwintereth Hosanna with three melodies which sound in the three orders of gladness, whereof it is three-plied.

In that hierarchy are the three divinities, first Dominations, and then Virtues; the third order is of Powers.

Then in the two last-save-one upleapings, Principalities and Archangels whirl; the last consisteth all of Angelic rejoicings.

These orders all gaze upward, and downward have such conquering might that toward God all are drawn and all draw.

And Dionysius with such yearning set himself to contemplate these orders that he named them and distinguished them as I do. Dionysius and Gregory

But Gregory afterward departed from him, wherefore so soon as he opened his eye in this heaven he smiled at his own self.

And if so hidden truth was uttered forth by mortal upon earth, I would not have thee marvel; for he who saw it here above revealed it to him, with much beside of truth about these circles." Paul

22-24. Compare x. 67-69.

32. *Iris* = the rainbow. Compare xii. 10-12.

39. *Thereof*, *i.e.* of the pure spark.

41, 42. "Now from such a principle heaven and earth depend."—Aristotle. Wallace, 39, *note* 1.

54. 'Is not contained in space.' Compare xxx. 38, 39.

72. The Seraphs, who "see more of the First Cause than any other angelic nature" (*Conv.* ii. 6: 79-81) and therefore must needs love more. Compare xxvi. 28-30 and lines 109-111 of this Canto.

73-75. "If thou consider the intensive quantity and not the extensive. For extensive quantity is corporeal and apparent, whereas intensive quantity is spiritual and unapparent."—Benvenuto.

80, 81. N.E., the sky-clearing wind, as opposed to N.W., the sky-clouding wind. The usage of the Latin writers (*e.g.* Boëthius and Virgil) leaves no room to doubt that this is the meaning.

93. If one grain of corn were reckoned for the first square of a chess-board, two for the second, four for the third, etc., it may be seen by a calculation which a logarithmic table will make extremely easy, that the total will be about 18¾ million million million.

95, 96. A variant on lines 41, 42.

105. By what logic are they called Thrones *because* they close the first ternary? Apparently because *Seraphs* with their wings, and *Cherubs* with their eyes, emphasise the up-going to God and insight into his being; and a complete reflection of the relations between the first hierarchy and the Deity would not be given in the nomenclature unless the *Thrones* were added to signify the superincumbent power of God manifesting itself through and in the Angels, as well as his glory drawing them to himself. Perhaps this may explain why Dante treats utterances of gladness in God as directly connected with the *Seraphim* (compare viii. 27; ix. 76-78) and confidence in the manifestations of God's power as connected with the *Thrones* (v. 115; ix. 61), without reference to the sphere in which the words are spoken.

109-111. The conception here formulated pervades the whole poem. Compare xiv. 40-42; xxix. 139, 140; the *note* on line 72 of this Canto, etc. It is interesting to compare with this view the following pas-

sage from Aquinas: "Knowledge existeth in measure as the things known are in him who knoweth, but love in measure as the lover is united to the loved. Now the higher abide after a more noble fashion in themselves than in those below them; but the lower in a more noble fashion in those above them than in themselves. And therefore the knowledge of what is beneath us excelleth the love thereof; but the love of what is above us, and especially of God, excelleth the knowledge of the same." Observe, however, that there is no inconsistency between this doctrine and the teaching of Dante; for Dante maintains that knowledge is the condition of love, rather than love the condition of knowledge, not that knowledge is itself intrinsically superior to love, an idea which he was evidently far from holding. See the final vision in Canto xxxiii.

117. From the autumn equinox all through the winter till the spring equinox the sign of Aries is visible in the sky at nightfall. The line therefore means 'where there is no autumn nor winter.'

118. *Unwintereth*. A use of the word bold almost to audacity. In the Troubadour poetry the birds are said to "unwinter" themselves, that is to say, to put off winter in their spring songs, and so to "unwinter Hosanna" is used for 'to sing Hosanna in the eternal spring of heaven.'

133. Gregory (pope, 590-604) has an arrangement that differs from that of Dionysius only in the interchange of Virtues and Principalities. Probably he was unacquainted with the works attributed to Dionysius, since they first gained currency in the West through the translations of Scotus Erigena in the ninth century. The arrangement which Dante had followed in *Conv.* ii. 6: 43-55 is identical with that of Brunetto Latini, and is ultimately derived from Isidore of Seville.

138. St. Paul. Compare *Acts* xvii. 34, and 2 *Cor.* xii. 2-4.

PARADISO

BEATRICE gazes for a moment upon that point of light wherein every *where* is here and every *when* is now, and therein reads the questions Dante would fain have her answer (1-12). It was not to acquire any good for himself, but that his reflected light might itself have the joy of conscious existence, that God, in his timeless eternity, uttered himself as love in created beings, themselves capable of loving (13-18). It is vain to ask what God was doing before the creation, for Time has no relevance except within the range of creation; nor was the first creation itself successive, or temporal at all; for pure form or act (the angels), pure matter or potentiality (the *materia prima*), and inseparably united act and potentiality (the material heavens), issued into simultaneous being (19-36). Jerome was wrong (as Scripture and reason testify) in thinking that the angels were created long before the heavens over which it is the office of certain of them to preside (37-45). Dante now knows where the angels were created (in God's eternity), and when (contemporaneously with Time and with the Heavens), and how (all loving); but has yet to learn how soon certain fell (ere one might

Primo Mobile

Quando ambo e due i figli di Latona,
coperti del Montone e della Libra,
fanno dell' orizzonte insieme zona,
quant' è dal punto che il zenit inlibra,
infin che l' uno e l' altro da quel cinto,
cambiando l' emisperio, si dilibra,
tanto, col volto di riso dipinto,
si tacque Beatrice, riguardando
fisso nel punto che m' aveva vinto;
poi cominciò: " Io dico, non domando,
quel che tu vuoli udir, perch' io l' ho visto
dove s' appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando*.

count twenty), and why (because of Satan's pride), and how the less presumptuous ones recognised the source of their swift and wide range of understanding, and so received grace (the acceptance of which was itself a merit), and were confirmed (46-66). This instruction were enough, did not the prevalence of erroneous teaching (honest and dishonest) make it needful to add that the angels, ever rejoicing in the direct contemplation of God, see all things always, and therefore exercise no changing stress of attention, and therefore need no power of memory, since their thought never having lost immediate hold of aught needs not to recall aught (67-84). Beatrice goes on to denounce the vain and flippant teaching by which the faithful are deluded (85-117), and especially the unauthorised pardonings (118-126); and finally, returning to the subject of the angels, explains that though in number they surpass the power of human language or conception, yet each has his own specific quality of insight and of resultant love. Such is the wonder of the divine love which breaks itself upon such countless mirrors, yet remains ever one (127-145).

The angels

When the two children of Latona, covered
by the Ram and by the Scales, make the
horizon their girdle at one same moment,
as long as from the point when the zenith bal-
anceth the scale, till one and the other from
that belt unbalanceth itself, changing its hemi-
sphere,
so long, with a smile traced on her countenance,
did Beatrice hold her peace, gazing fixedly
on the point which had o'ermastered me;
then she began: "I tell, not ask, that which
thou fain wouldst hear; for I have seen it
where every *where* and every *when* is focussed.

Primo Mobile

Non per aver a sè di bene acquisto, 13
ch' esser non può, ma perchè suo splendore
potesse, risplendendo, dir : *Subsisto.*

In sua eternità di tempo fuore, 16
fuor d' ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,
s' aperse in nuovi amor l' eterno amore.

Nè prima quasi torpente si giacque ; 19
chè nè prima nè poscia procedette
lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest' acque.

Forma e materia congiunte e purette 22
usciro ad esser che non avea fallo,
come d' arco tricorde tre saette ;

e come in vetro, in ambra od in cristallo 25
raggio risplende sì che dal venire
all' esser tutto non è intervallo ;

così il triforme effetto del suo Sire 28
nell' esser suo raggiò insieme tutto,
senza distinzion nell' esordire.

Concreato fu ordine e costrutto 31
alle sustanzie : e quelle furon cima
nel mondo, in che puro atto fu produtto.

Pura potenza tenne la parte ima ; 34
nel mezzo, strinse potenza con atto
tal vime, che giammai non si divima.

Jeronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto 37
di secoli degli Angeli creati
anzi che l' altro mondo fosse fatto ;

ma questo vero è scritto in molti lati 40
dagli scrittor dello Spirito Santo ;
e tu te n' avvedrai, se bene agguati :

ed anche la ragione il vede alquanto, 43
che non concederebbe che i motori
senza sua perfezion fosser cotanto.

Not to have gain of any good unto himself, which may not be, but that his splendour might, as it glowed, declare, *I am*. The angels. Creation

In his eternity beyond time, beyond all other comprehension, as was his pleasure, the eternal love revealed him in new loves.

Nor did he lie, as slumbering, before ; for nor before nor after was the process of God's outflowing over these waters.

Form and matter, united and in purity, issued into being which had no flaw, as from a three-stringed bow three arrows ;

and as in glass, in amber, or in crystal, a ray so gloweth that from its coming to its pervading all, there is no interval ;

so the threefold effect of its Lord rayed out all at once into its being, without distinction of beginning. Angels, matter and the heavens

Co-created was order and co-woven with the substances ; and those were the summit in the universe wherein Pure Act was produced.

But Potentiality held the lowest place ; in the midst, Power twisted such a withy with act as shall ne'er be unbound.

Jerome wrote to you of a long stretch of ages wherein the Angels were created ere aught else of the universe was made ;

but the truth I tell is writ on many a page of the writers of the Holy Spirit, and thou shalt be aware of it if well thou look ;

and also reason seeth it some little, which would not grant that the movers should so long abide without their perfecting.

Primo Mobile

Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
furon eletti, e come; sì che spenti
nel tuo disio già sono tre ardori.

Nè giugneriesi numerando al venti
sì tosto, come degli Angeli parte
turbò il suggetto dei vostri elementi.

L' altra rimase, e cominciò quest' arte,
che tu discerni, con tanto diletto,
che mai da circuir non si diparte.

Principio del cader fu il maledetto
superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto.

Quelli, che vedi qui, furon modesti
a riconoscer sè dalla bontate,
che gli avea fatti a tanto intender presti;

per che le viste lor furo esaltate
con grazia illuminante e con lor merto,
sì ch' hanno piena e ferma volontate.

E non voglio che dubbi, ma sie certo
che ricever la grazia è meritorio,
secondo che l' affetto l' è aperto.

Omai d' intorno a questo consistorio
puoi contemplare assai, se le parole
mie son ricolte, senz' altro aiutorio.

Ma perchè in terra per le vostre scuole
si legge che l' angelica natura
è tal che intende e si ricorda e vuole,

ancor dirò, perchè tu veggi pura
la verità che laggiù si confonde,
equivocando in sì fatta lettura.

Queste sustanzie, poichè fur gioconde
della faccia di Dio, non volser viso
da essa, da cui nulla si nasconde:

Now dost thou know where and when these Loves were chosen and how, so that three flames are quenched already in thy longing. The angels

Nor should one, counting, come so soon to twenty as did a part of the Angels disturb the substrate of your elements.

The rest abode and began this art which thou perceivest, with so great delight that from circling round they ne'er depart. Angels fallen and confirmed

The beginning of the fall was the accursed pride of him whom thou didst see constrained by all the weights of the universe.

Those whom thou seest here were modest to acknowledge themselves derived from that same Excellence which made them swift to so great understanding;

wherefore their vision was exalted with grace illuminating and with their merit, so that they have their will full and established.

And I would not have thee doubt, but be assured that 'tis a merit to receive the grace by laying the affection open to it.

Now, as concerns this consistory much mayst thou contemplate (if my words have been upgathered) with no other aid.

But since on earth in your schools 'tis said in lectures that the angelic nature is such as understandeth and remembereth and willeth, The angelic faculties

I will speak on, that thou mayst see in purity the truth that down there is confounded by the equivocations of such-like discourse.

These substances, since first they gathered joy from the face of God, have never turned their vision from it wherefrom naught is concealed;

Primo Mobile

però non hanno vedere interciso
da nuovo obbietto, e però non bisogna
rimemorar per concetto diviso.

Sì che laggiù non dormendo si sogna,
credendo e non credendo dicer vero;
ma nell' uno è più colpa e più vergogna.

Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
l' amor dell' apparenza e il suo pensiero.

Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
con men disdegno, che quando è posposta
la divina scrittura, o quando è torta.

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa
seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace
chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.

Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face
sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse
dai predicanti, e il vangelio si tace.

Un dice che la luna si ritorse
nella passion di Cristo e s' interpose,
per che il lume del sol giù non si porse;

ed altri che la luce si nascose
da sè; però agl' Ispani ed agl' Indi,
com' a' Giudei, tale eclissi rispose.

Non ha Fiorenza tanti Lapi e Bindi,
quante sì fatte favole per anno
in pergamo si gridan quinci e quindi;

sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento,
e non le scusa non veder lo danno.

Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento:
Andate e predicate al mondo ciance,
ma diede lor verace fondamento;

wherefore their sight is never intercepted by a fresh object, and so it behoveth not to call aught back to memory because thought hath been cleft. **The angels**

Wherefore they dream, down there, though sleeping not; thinking or thinking not, they speak the truth; but more in the latter is the fault and shame.

Ye below tread not on one path when ye philosophise, so far doth love of show, and the thought it begets, transport you.

Yet even this with lesser indignation is endured here above than when divine Scripture is thrust behind or wrenched aside.

They think not how great the cost of blood to sow it in the world, and how he pleaseth who humbly keepeth by its side.

Each one straineth his wit to make a show and plieth his inventions; and these are handled by the preachers, and the Gospel left in silence. **Vain teaching**

One saith the moon drew herself back when Christ suffered, and interposed herself that the sun's light spread not itself below;

and others, that the light concealed itself of its own self; wherefore that same eclipse responded to the Spaniards and the Indians as to the Jews.

Florence hath not so many Lapos and Bindos as the fables of such fashion that yearly are proclaimed from the pulpit on this side and on that;

so that the sheep, who know not aught, return from their pasture fed with wind, and not to see their loss doth not excuse them.

Christ said not to his first assembly: *Go and preach trifles to the world;*—but gave to them the true foundation;

Primo Mobile

e quel tanto sonò nelle sue guance,
sì ch' a pugnar, per accender la fede,
dell' evangelio fero scudo e lance.
Ora si va con motti e con iscede
a predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede.
Ma tale uccel nel becchetto s' annida,
che, se il vulgo il vedesse, vederebbe
la perdonanza di che si confida ;
per cui tanta stoltizia in terra crebbe,
che, senza prova d' alcun testimonio,
ad ogni promission si converrebbe.
Di questo ingrassa il porco sant' Antonio,
ed altri ancor che son assai più porci,
pagando di moneta senza conio.
Ma perchè siam digressi assai, ritorci
gli occhi oramai verso la dritta strada,
sì che la via col tempo si raccorci.
Questa natura sì oltre s' ingrada
in numero, che mai non fu loquela,
nè concetto mortal che tanto vada :
e se tu guardi quel che si rivela
per Daniel, vedrai che in sue migliaia
determinato numero si cela.
La prima luce, che tutta la raia,
per tanti modi in essa si recepe,
quanti son gli splendori a che s' appaia.
Onde, però che all' atto che concepe
segue l' affetto, d' amor la dolcezza
diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.
Vedi l' eccelso omai, e la larghezza
dell' eterno valor, poscia che tanti
speculi fatti s' ha, in che si spezza,
uno manendo in sè, come davanti."

that, and that only, sounded on their lips; wherefore for their battle to kindle faith they made both shield and lance out of the Gospel. The angels

Now they go forth with jests and with grimaces to preach, and if loud laughter rise, the hood inflates and no more is required.

But such a bird is nestling in the hood-tail that if the crowd should see it, they would see what pardon they are trusting in;

wherefore such folly hath increased on earth that without proof of any testimony the folk would jump with any promise. Vain pardonings

Whereby Anthony fatteneth his swine, and others too, more swinish far than they, paying with money that hath no imprint.

But since we have digressed enough, turn back thine eyes now to the true path, so that our journey may contract with our time.

This nature ranketh so wide in number that ne'er was speech nor thought of mortal that advanced so far: Nature and number of angels

and if thou look at that which is revealed by Daniel, thou shalt see that in his thousands determinate number is lost to sight.

The primal light which doth o'erray it all, is received by it in so many ways as are the splendours wherewithal it paireth.

Wherefore, since affection followeth on the act that doth conceive, the sweetness of love in diverse fashion gloweth or is warm in them.

See now the height and breadth of the eternal worth, since it hath made itself so many mirrors wherein it is reflected, remaining in itself one as before."

1-6. The Moon (Diana), when at the full, rises just as the Sun (Apollo) sets, or sets as he rises.

13-18. Dante is careful in the use of *splendor* for reflected, not direct light. (*Epist. ad Can. Grand.*, 349-437 [§§ 20-23], and *Conv.* iii. 14: 29-50). Therefore we must not understand this passage as declaring the manifestation of his own glory to be God's motive in creation, but rather the conferring of conscious being, the sense of existence, upon his creatures. 'In order that his creatures (*i.e.* his reflected glory, his *splendor*) might be able to say: *I am.*' This is in conformity with what Aquinas and others say as to love as God's motive in creation. Compare vii. 64-66, *note.*

20. If we might read, with some MSS., *precedette* for *procedette* the meaning would be much easier: 'Since there is no *before* nor *after* save with reference to creation (because Time itself is a creation). the question is equivalent to: *What was God doing before there was any before?*' But the authority for *procedette* (proceeded) is too strong to be neglected. The translation and argument explain the sense in which we take it.

22. *United* in the material heavens; and in their several *purity* in the Angels and the *Materia Prima.*

25-37. It was a received point in the Aristotelian physics that light occupies no time in diffusing itself through a translucent medium or substance. Beatrice, then, declares that the creation of the Angels, of the *Prima Materia*, of the physical heavens [and also time and space] was instantaneous. The successional creation recorded in *Genesis* was a subsequent process of evolution which took place in time, and through the instrumentality of the Angels.

32, 33. The Angels. *Act* or *actuality* is opposed to *potentiality.* Man's intellect is "possible" or "potential," that is to say, we know potentially much that we do not know actually, and (in another but allied sense) are potentially thinking and feeling many things that we are not actually thinking and feeling; whereas the whole potentialities of an angel's existence are continuously actualised. (Compare *De Monarchia*, i. 3: 55-62, and lines 70-81 of this Canto.)

34. The *Materia Prima.*

35, 36. The material heavens; not humanity. (Compare vii. 130.)

40. Perhaps *Ecclesiasticus* xviii. 1, where the Vulgate reads, "He who liveth eternally created all things at once (*simul*)." It was also argued from *Gen.* i. 1, "*in the beginning*" that there had been no long-previous creation.

45. *Without their perfecting, i.e.* as organs without a function, not being able to perform that for which they were created. On the relation of those Angels who specially presided over the revolving heavens and the other Angels in the Orders to which they respectively pertained, see *Conv.* ii. 5: 11-98.

49-51. Here Dante avoids the vexed question as to whether some angels fell from each of the Orders. In *Conv.* ii. 6: 95-99, he had expressly declared that some, perhaps a tenth, of each Order fell. *Il suggetto dei vostri elementi* is usually (and perhaps rightly) taken to mean 'that one of your elements that underlies the rest,' *i.e.* Earth. Compare *Inf.* xxiv. 121-126. But if we take this passage on its own merits it seems better to understand the *substrate* of the elements to mean the *prima materia* (compare ii. 106-108; vii. 133-136, and lines 22-24 of this Canto); the elaboration of the elements being the subsequent work of the Angels and the heavens.

56, 57. *Inf.* xxxiv.

72. These are the precise powers which Dante believed the disembodied human soul actually to possess before assuming its provisional aerial body. (See *Purg.* xxv. 83.) As far as *intelligence* and *will* are concerned, the assertion is equally true of the Angels, but not so as to *memory*. (See below.)

118. Devils are called *uccelli* in *Inf.* xxii. 96; xxxiv. 47, as here. Angels are called birds in the *Purgatorio* (ii. 38; viii. 104), but not in the *Paradiso*. By "hood-tail" is meant that the hood serves as a pocket.

124-126. The pigs which infested Florence and its neighbourhood, and which belonged to a neighbouring monastery or monasteries, were under the patronage of St. Anthony (251-356), whose symbol is a pig. It had been well had they been the worst things fed on the proceeds of the fraudulent gains of the religious!

130. *This nature, i.e.* the Angels.

131-135. '*Daniel* vii. 10 is not intended to give the number of the Angels, but to express that they are more numerous than man can conceive.'

PARADISO

WHEN it is dawn with us and noon six thousand miles to the East of us, and the shadow of the earth cast by the sun is level with the plane of our horizon, the stars one by one disappear (1-9). And in like manner the angelic rings that seemed to enclose the all-enclosing divine point gradually disappeared; whereon Dante turned to Beatrice and saw her of such transcendent beauty that like every artist who has reached the extreme limit of his skill he must leave this excess unchronicled (10-33). Beatrice tells him that they have now issued forth from the heaven that compasses all space into the heaven of light, love, joy, which is not a thing of space, and where he shall behold the angels, and shall see the elect in the forms they will wear after the resurrection (34-45). A blinding flash of light

Primo Mobile

Forse sei mila miglia di lontano
ci ferve l' ora sesta, e questo mondo
china già l' ombra, quasi al letto piano,
quando il mezzo del cielo, a noi profondo,
comincia a farsi tal, che alcuna stella
perde il parere infino a questo fondo;
e come vien la chiarissima ancella
del sol più oltre, così il ciel si chiude
di vista in vista infino alla più bella.
Non altrimenti il trionfo, che lude
sempre dintorno al punto che mi vinse,
parendo inchiuso da quel ch' egl' inchiude,
a poco a poco al mio veder si estinse;
per che tornar con gli occhi a Beatrice
nulla vedere, ed amor, mi costrinse.

CANTO XXX

enwraps the poet, and his sight then becomes such that naught can vanquish it (46-60); whereon he sees (first in symbolic form, as by the stream of Time; then in their true shapes, as gathering round the circle of Eternity) the things of heaven (61-99). The light of God, striking upon the *Primum Mobile*, is reflected up upon the ranks of the blest, to whom it gives power to look upon God himself (100-117). Dante, in this region, where far and near have no relevancy, gazes upon the saints (118-126) and Beatrice bids him rejoice in their number; and then directs his sight to one of the few places yet vacant. It is appointed for the emperor Henry who shall strive to set Italy straight, but shall be thwarted by the blinding greed of the Italians and the hypocrisy of Pope Clement, whose fearful fate Beatrice proclaims (127-148).

Perchance six thousand miles away from us blazeth the noon, and this world already slopeth its shadow as to a level couch, **The angels**

when the midst of heaven deep above us, beginneth to grow such that here and there a star loseth power to shine down to this floor;

and as the brightest handmaid of the sun advanceth, so doth the heaven close up star after star even till the fairest has gone.

Not otherwise the triumph which ever sporteth round the point which vanquished me, seeming embraced by that which it embraceth,

little by little quenched itself from my sight; wherefore my seeing naught, and love, constrained me to turn with mine eyes to Beatrice.

Salita Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice 16
fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,
poca sarebbe a fornir questa vice.

La bellezza ch' io vidi si trasmoda 19
non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo
che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.

Da questo passo vinto mi concedo, 22
più che giammai da punto di suo tema
suprato fosse comico o tragedo.

Chè, come sole in viso che più trema, 25
così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
la mente mia di sè medesma scema.

Dal primo giorno ch' io vidi il suo viso 28
in questa vita, infino a questa vista,
non m' è il seguire al mio cantar preciso ;

ma or convien che mio seguir desista 31
più retro a sua bellezza, poetando,
come all' ultimo suo ciascuno artista.

Cotal, qual io la lascio a maggior bando 34
che quel della mia tuba, che deduce
l' ardua sua materia terminando,

Empireo con atto e voce d' espedito duce 37
ricominciò : " Noi semo usciti fuore
del maggior corpo al ciel, ch' è pura luce ;

luce intellettual piena d' amore, 40
amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.

Qui vederai l' una e l' altra milizia 43
di Paradiso, e l' una in quegli aspetti
che tu vedrai all' ultima giustizia."

Come subito lampo che discetti 46
gli spiriti visivi, sì che priva
dell' atto l' occhio di più forti obbietti ;

If that which up here is said of her were all compressed into one act of praise 'twould be too slight to serve this present turn. **Church triumphant**

The beauty I beheld transcendeth measure, not only past our reach, but surely I believe that only he who made it enjoyeth it complete.

At this pass I yield me vanquished more than e'er yet was overborne by his theme's thrust comic or tragic poet.

For as the Sun in sight that most trembleth, so the remembrance of the sweet smile sheareth my memory of its very self.

From the first day when in this life I saw her face, until this sight, my song hath ne'er been cut off from the track ; **Beatrice**

but now needs must my tracking cease from following her beauty further forth in poesy, as at his utmost reach must every artist.

Such as I leave her for a mightier proclamation than of my trumpet, which draweth its arduous subject to a close,

with alert leader's gesture and voice, did she again begin : " We have issued forth from the greatest body into the heaven which is pure light, **Heaven of light and love**

light intellectual full-charged with love, love of true good full-charged with gladness, gladness which transcendeth every sweetness.

Here shalt thou see the one and the other soldiery of Paradise, and the one in those aspects which thou shalt see at the last judgment."

As a sudden flash of lightning which so shattereth the visual spirits as to rob the eye of power to realise e'en strongest objects ;

Empireo così mi circonfulse luce viva, 49
e lasciommi fasciato di tal velo
del suo fulgor, che nulla m' appariva.
" Sempre l' amore, che quieta il cielo, 52
accoglie in sè con sì fatta salute,
per far disposto a sua fiamma il candelo."
Non fur più tosto dentro a me venute 55
queste parole brevi, ch' io compresi
me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute ;
e di novella vista mi raccesi, 58
tale che nulla luce è tanto mera,
che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi.
E vidi lume in forma di riviera 61
fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive
dipinte di mirabil primavera.
Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive, 64
e d' ogni parte si mettean nei fiori,
quasi rubin che oro circonscrive.
Poi, come inebriate dagli odori, 67
riprofondavan sè nel miro gurge,
e, s' una entrava, un' altra n' uscia fuori.
" L' alto disio che mo t' infiamma ed urge 70
d' aver notizia di ciò che tu vei,
tanto mi piace più, quanto più turge.
Ma di quest' acqua convien che tu bei, 73
prima che tanta sete in te si sazii."
Così mi disse il sol degli occhi miei ;
anco soggiunse : " Il fiume, e li topazii 76
ch' entrano ed escono, e il rider dell' erbe
son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii.
Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe : 79
ma è difetto dalla parte tua,
che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe."

so there shone around me a living light, leaving me swathed in such a web of its glow that naught appeared to me. Church triumphant

"Ever doth the love which stilleth heaven, receive into itself with such-like salutation, duly to fit the taper for its flame."

So soon as these brief words came into me I felt me to surmount my proper power;

and kindled me with such new-given sight that there is no such brightness unalloyed that mine eyes might not hold their own with it.

And I saw a light, in river form, glow tawny betwixt banks painted with marvellous spring. River of light

From out this river issued living sparks, and dropped on every side into the blossoms, like rubies set in gold.

Then as inebriated with the odours they plunged themselves again into the marvellous swirl, and as one entered issued forth another.

"The lofty wish that now doth burn and press thee to have more knowledge of the things thou seest, pleaseth me more the more it swelleth.

But of this water needs thou first must drink, ere so great thirst in thee be slaked." So spoke mine eyes' sun unto me;

then added: "The river and the topaz-gems that enter and go forth, and the smiling of the grasses are the shadowy prefaces of their reality. The last symbol-mask

Not that such things are harsh as in themselves; but on thy side is the defect, in that thy sight not yet exalteth it so high."

Empireo Non è fantin che sì subito rua
col volto verso il latte, se si svegli
molto tardato dall' usanza sua,
come fec' io, per far migliori spegli
ancor degli occhi, chinandomi all' onda
che si deriva, perchè vi s' immegli.
E sì come di lei bevve la gronda
delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda.
Poi, come gente stata sotto larve,
che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
la sembianza non sua in che disparve ;
così mi si cambiaro in maggior feste
li fiori e le faville, sì ch' io vidi
ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.
O isplendor di Dio, per cu' io vidi
l' alto trionfo del regno verace,
dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.
Lume è lassù, che visibile face
lo Creatore a quella creatura,
che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace ;
e si distende in circular figura
in tanto che la sua circonferenza
sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura.
Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza
riflesso al sommo del Mobile Primo,
che prende quindi vivere e potenza.
E come clivo in acqua di suo imo
si specchia, quasi per vedersi adorno,
quando è nell' erbe e nei fioretti opimo,
sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno
vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie,
quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.

Never doth child so sudden rush with face turned to the milk, if he awake far later than his wont, Church triumphant

as then did I, to make yet better mirrors of mine eyes, down bending to the wave which floweth that we may better us.

And no sooner drank of it mine eyelids' rim than into roundness seemed to change its length.

Then—as folk under masks seem other than before, if they do off the semblance not their own wherein they hid them,—

so changed before me into ampler joyance the flowers and the sparks, that I saw both the two courts of heaven manifested.

O splendour of God whereby I saw the lofty triumph of the truthful realm, give me the power to tell how I beheld it. Splendour of God

A light there is up yonder which maketh the Creator visible unto the creature, who only in beholding him hath its own peace;

and it so far outstretcheth circle-wise that its circumference would be too loose a girdle for the sun.

All its appearance is composed of rays reflected from the top of the First Moved, which draweth thence its life and potency.

And as a hill-side doth reflect itself in water at its foot, as if to look upon its own adornment when it is rich in grasses and in flowers, The redeemed

so, mounting o'er the light, around, around, casting reflection in more than a thousand ranks I saw all that of us hath won return up yonder.

Empireo E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie
sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie ?
La vista mia nell' ampio e nell' altezza
non si smarriva, ma tutto prendeva
il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza.
Presso e lontano lì nè pon nè leva,
chè dove Dio senza mezzo governa,
la legge natural nulla rileva.
Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna,
che si dilata, digrada e redole
odor di lode al sol che sempre verna,
qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole,
mi trasse Beatrice, e disse : " Mira
quanto è il convento delle bianche stole !
Vedi nostra città quanto ella gira !
Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni,
che poca gente omai ci si disira.
In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni
per la corona che già v' è su posta,
prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
sederà l' alma, che fia giù agosta,
dell' alto Enrico, ch' a drizzare Italia
verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.
La cieca cupidigia, che vi ammalia,
simili fatti v' ha al fantolino,
che muor di fame e caccia via la balia ;
e fia prefetto nel foro divino
allora tal, che palese e coperto
non anderà con lui per un cammino.
Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto
nel santo offizio ; ch' ei sarà detruso
là dove Simon mago è per suo merto,
e farà quel d' Anagna esser più giuso."

And if the lowest step gathereth so large a light within itself, what then the amplitude of the rose's outmost petals ? Church triumphant

My sight in the breadth and height lost itself not, but grasped the scope and nature of that joyance.

Near and far addeth not nor subtracteth there, for where God governeth without medium the law of nature hath no relevance.

Within the yellow of the eternal rose, which doth expand, rank upon rank, and reeketh perfume of praise unto the Sun that maketh spring for ever,

me—as who doth hold his peace yet fain would speak—Beatrice drew, and said : " Behold how great the white-robed concourse !

See how large our city sweepeth ! See our thrones so filled that but few folk are now awaited there.

On that great seat where thou dost fix thine eyes, for the crown's sake already placed above it, ere at this wedding feast thyself do sup, Henry's throne

shall sit the soul (on earth 'twill be imperial) of the lofty Henry who shall come to set straight Italy ere she be ready for it.

The blind greed which bewitched you hath made you like the little child who dieth of hunger and chaseth off his nurse ;

and he who then presideth in the court of things divine shall be such an one as, openly and covertly, shall not tread the same path with him.

But short space thereafter shall he be endured of God in the sacred office ; for he shall be thrust down where Simon Magus is for his desert, and still lower down shall force him of Anagna." Clement and Boniface

43. The redeemed and the Angels. The former as though reclad with the body.

79-81. Compare xxxiii. 109-114, and *Argument. Harsh*, literally unmellowed, and therefore "repellent to the senses"; here, "repellent to the mind"; not to be assimilated by it without jar.

97. Bearing in mind Dante's careful use of the word *splendor* (compare xxix. 13-15, *note*), and following the descriptions of this Canto closely, we may conclude that the perpetual reflection of the light of God cast back from the *Primum Mobile* upon the eyes of the saints, ministers to their perpetual power of looking direct into the light itself. See lines 100, 101. Nearly the same phrase is used in xiv. 48 for internal light, or power of vision.

114. All the redeemed that had regained their native heaven.

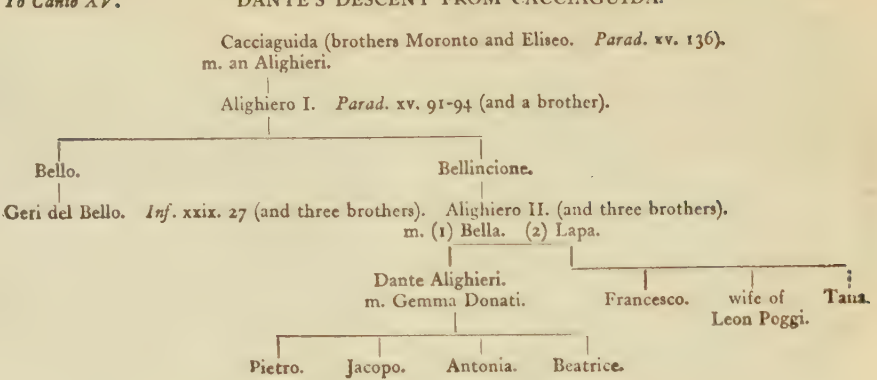
121-123. It had been maintained by Democritus, but was denied by Aristotle, that were it not for the medium, even the smallest things could be seen at any distance whatsoever. This is one of the many instances in which Dante gives a spiritual turn to the physical speculations of the Greeks.

137. See Gardner, i. 6, and the account of Henry's expedition in Villani.

143, 144. The translation should be taken as meaning that Clement, while outwardly favouring Henry, would secretly oppose him; which agrees with xvii. 82, and is a not inaccurate description of Clement's conduct. Compare *Epist.* v. 165-170 (§ 10). But the Italian, like the translation, will also bear the meaning "who will work against him (Henry) openly and covertly," and this interpretation is preferred by many scholars, perhaps as bringing a more concrete charge against Clement, and so leading up better to the "thereafter" of line 145.

145. Henry died in August 1313, Clement in April 1314.

146-148. Compare *Inf.* xix. 52 and 77.


Cacciaguida (brothers Moronto and Eliseo. *Parad.* xv. 136).
m. an Alighieri.
Alighiero I. *Parad.* xv. 91-94 (and a brother).
Bello.
Bellincione.
Geri del Bello. *Inf.* xxix. 27 (and three brothers).
Alighiero II. (and three brothers).
m. (1) Bella. (2) Lapa.
Dante Alighieri.
m. Gemma Donati.
Francesco.
wife of Leon Poggi.
Tana.
Pietro.
Jacopo.
Antonia.
Beatrice.

PARADISO

THE redeemed are seen, rank above rank, as the petals of the divine rose; and the angels flying between them and God minister peace and ardour to them, for passion is here peaceful and peace passionate. Nor does this angelic multitude intercept the piercing light of God nor the piercing sight of the redeemed (1-24). The realm, whose joy no longer needs the stimulus supplied by the fear of losing it or the effort to retain it, centres its look and love on the triune God. Oh! that he would look down on the storm-tossed earth; from the most evil quarter of which Dante coming to that region is smitten dumb by the contrast (25-42). Mutely gazing, as the pilgrim at the shrine of his pilgrimage, thinking to tell again what he has seen, Dante after a time turns to question Beatrice, but finds her gone (43-60). Bernard, the type of contemplation, or immediate vision, has come at

Empireo

In forma dunque di candida rosa
mi si mostrava la milizia santa,
che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa;
ma l' altra, che volando vede e canta
la gloria di colui che la innamora
e la bontà che la fece cotanta,
sì come schiera d' api, che s' infiora
una fiata ed una si ritorna
là dove suo lavoro s' insapora,
nel gran fior discendeva, che s' adorna
di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva
là dove il suo amor sempre soggiorna.
Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva,
e l' ali d' oro, e l' altro tanto bianco
che nulla neve a quel termine arriva.

CANTO XXXI

Beatrice's request, to bring Dante to the goal of his desire, by directing his eyes to that actual vision of divine things in their true forms for which her patient instructions have prepared him. And he first directs his sight to Beatrice herself in her place of glory. To her he pours out his gratitude, while imploring her further protection and praying that he may live and die worthy of her love; whereon she smiles upon him and then turns to God in whom alone is true and abiding union of human souls (61-93). Dante now learns who his guide is and gazes with awe-struck wonder on the features of the saint who had seen God while yet on earth; then, at his prompting, he looks above and sees the glory of Mary like the glory of the dawn, flaming amongst countless angels—each one having his own specific beauty of light and gesture — and gladdening all the saints (94-142).

In form, then, of a white rose displayed itself to me that sacred soldiery which in his blood Christ made his spouse; Church triumphant

but the other, which as it flieth seeth and doth sing his glory who enamoureth it, and the excellence which hath made it what it is,

like to a swarm of bees which doth one while plunge into the flowers and another while wend back to where its toil is turned to sweetness,

ever descended into the great flower adorned with so many leaves, and reascended thence to where its love doth ever make sojourn.

They had their faces all of living flame, and wings of gold, and the rest so white that never snow reacheth such limit. Angels

Empireo Quando scendean nel fior, di banco in banco 16
porgevan della pace e dell' ardore,
ch' egli acquistavan ventilando il fianco,
nè lo interporsi tra il di sopra e il fiore 19
di tanta plenitudine volante
impediva la vista e lo splendore ;
chè la luce divina è penetrante 22
per l' universo, secondo ch' è degno,
sì che nulla le puote essere ostante.
Questo sicuro e gaudioso regno, 25
frequente in gente antica ed in novella,
viso ed amore avea tutto ad un segno.
O trina luce, che in unica stella 28
scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,
guarda quaggiù alla nostra procella.
Se i Barbari, venendo di tal plaga, 31
che ciascun giorno d' Elice si copra,
rotante col suo figlio ond' ell' è vaga,
vedendo Roma e l' ardua sua opra 34
stupefaciensi, quando Laterano
alle cose mortali andò di sopra ;
io, che al divino dall' umano, 37
all' eterno dal tempo era venuto,
e di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
di che stupor dovea esser compiuto ! 40
certo tra esso e il gaudio mi facea
libito il non udire, e starmi muto.
E quasi peregrin, che si ricrea 43
nel tempio del suo voto riguardando,
e spera già ridir com' ello stea,
sì per la viva luce passeggiando, 46
menava io gli occhi per li gradi,
mo su, mo giù, e mo ricirculando.

When they descended into the flower, from rank to rank they proffered of the peace and of the ardour which they acquired as they fanned their sides, Church triumphant

nor did the interposing of so great a flying multitude, betwixt the flower and that which was above, impede the vision nor the splendour ;

for the divine light so penetrateth through the universe, in measure of its worthiness, that naught hath power to oppose it.

This realm, secure and gladsome, thronged with ancient folk and new, had look and love all turned unto one mark.

O threefold light, which in a single star, glinting upon their sight doth so content them, look down upon our storm !

If the Barbarians coming from such region as every day is spanned by Helicë, wheeling with her son towards whom she yearneth, Rome

on seeing Rome and her mighty works—what time the Lateran transcended mortal things—were stupefied ;

what then of me, who to the divine from the human, to the eternal from time had passed, and from Florence to a people just and sane, From Florence to Heaven

with what stupor must I needs be filled ! verily, what with it and what with joy, my will was to hear naught and to be dumb myself.

As the pilgrim who doth draw fresh life in the temple of his vow as he gazeth, and already hopeth to tell again how it be placed,

so, traversing the living light, I led mine eyes along the ranks, now up, now down, and now round circling.

Empireo Vedea di carità visi suadi,
d' altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso,
ed atti ornati di tutte onestadi.
La forma general di Paradiso
già tutta mio sguardo avea compresa,
e in nulla parte ancor fermato il viso;
e volgeami con voglia riaccesa
per domandar la mia donna di cose,
di che la mente mia era sospesa.
Uno intendea, ed altro mi rispose;
credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un sene
vestito con le genti gloriose.
Diffuso era per gli occhi e per le gene
di benigna letizia, in atto pio,
quale a tenero padre si conviene.
Ed: "Ella ov' è?" di subito diss' io;
ond' egli: "A terminar lo tuo disiro
mosse Beatrice me del loco mio;
e se riguardi su nel terzo giro
del sommo grado, tu la rivedrai
nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro."
Senza risponder gli occhi su levai,
e vidi lei che si facea corona,
riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai.
Da quella region, che più su tuona,
occhio mortale alcun tanto non dista,
qualunque in mare più giù s' abbandona,
quanto lì da Beatrice la mia vista;
ma nulla mi facea, chè sua effige
non discendeva a me per mezzo mista.
"O donna, in cui la mia speranza vige,
e che soffristi per la mia salute
in Inferno lasciar le tue vestige;

I saw countenances suasive of love, adorned by another's light and their own smile, and gestures graced with every dignity. **Church triumphant**

The general form of Paradise my glance had already taken in, in its entirety, and on no part as yet had my sight paused ;

and I turned me with rekindled will to question my Lady concerning things whereanent my mind was in suspense.

One thing I purposed, and another answered me ; I thought to see Beatrice, and I saw an elder clad like the folk in glory.

His eyes and cheeks were overpoured with benign gladness, in kindly gesture as befits a tender father. **Bernard**

And : " Where is she ? " all sudden I exclaimed ; whereunto he : " To bring thy desire to its goal Beatrice moved me from my place ;

and if thou look up to the circle third from the highest rank, thou shalt re-behold her, on the throne her merits have assigned to her."

Without answering I lifted up mine eyes and saw her, making to herself a crown as she reflected from her the eternal rays.

From that region which thundereth most high, no mortal eye is so far distant, though plunged most deep within the sea,

as there from Beatrice was my sight ; but that wrought not upon me, for her image descended to me not mingled with any medium. **Beatrice**

" O Lady, in whom my hope hath vigour, and who for my salvation didst endure to leave in Hell thy footprints ;

Empireo di tante cose, quante io ho vedute,
dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate
riconosco la grazia e la virtute.
Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate
per tutte quelle vie, per tutti i modi,
che di ciò fare avei la potestate.
La tua magnificenza in me custodi
sì che l' anima mia, che fatta hai sana,
piacente a te, dal corpo si disnodi."
Così orai; ed ella sì lontana,
come parea, sorrise, e riguardommi;
poi si tornò all' eterna fontana.
E il santo sene: "Acciocchè tu assommi
perfettamente," disse, "il tuo cammino,
a che prego ed amor santo mandommi,
vola con gli occhi per questo giardino;
chè veder lui t' acconcerà lo sguardo
più al montar per lo raggio divino.
E la Regina del cielo, ond' i' ardo
tutto d' amor, ne farà ogni grazia,
però ch' io sono il suo fedel Bernardo."
Quale è colui, che forse di Croazia
viene a veder la Veronica nostra,
che per l' antica fama non si sazia,
ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra:
"Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?"
tale era io mirando la vivace
carità di colui, che in questo mondo,
contemplando, gustò di quella pace.
"Figliuol di grazia, questo esser giocondo,"
cominciò egli, "non ti sarà noto
tenendo gli occhi pur quaggiù al fondo;

of all the things which I have seen I recognise the grace and might, by thy power and by thine excellence. Church triumphant

Thou hast drawn me from a slave to liberty by all those paths, by all those methods by which thou hadst the power so to do.

Preserve thy munificence in me, so that my soul, which thou hast made sound, may unloose it from the body, pleasing unto thee."

So did I pray; and she, so distant as she seemed, smiled and looked on me, then turned her to the eternal fountain.

And the holy elder said: "That thou mayest consummate thy journey perfectly—whereto prayer and holy love dispatched me,— Bernard

fly with thine eyes throughout this garden; for gazing on it will equip thy glance better to mount through the divine ray.

And the Queen of heaven for whom I am all burning with love, will grant us every grace, because I am her faithful Bernard."

As is he who perchance from Croatia cometh to look on our Veronica, and because of ancient fame is sated not, The Veronica

but saith in thought, so long as it be shown: "My Lord Jesus Christ, true God, and was this, then, the fashion of thy semblance?"

such was I, gazing upon the living love of him who in this world by contemplation tasted of that peace.

"Son of grace! this joyous being," he began, "will not become known to thee by holding thine eyes only here down at the base;

Empireo ma guarda i cerchi fino al più remoto, 115
tanto che veggi seder la Regina,
cui questo regno è suddito e devoto."
Io levai gli occhi; e come da mattina 118
le parti oriental dell' orizzonte
soperchian quella dove il sol declina,
così, quasi di valle andando a monte, 121
con gli occhi vidi parte nello estremo
vincer di lume tutta l' altra fronte.
E come quivi, ove s' aspetta il temo 124
che mal guidò Fetonte, più s' infiamma,
e quinci e quindi il lume è fatto scemo;
così quella pacifica oriafiamma 127
nel mezzo s' avvivava, e d' ogni parte
per egual modo allentava la fiamma.
Ed a quel mezzo, con le penne sparte, 130
vidi più di mille Angeli festanti,
ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d' arte.
Vidi quivi ai lor giochi ed ai lor canti 133
ridere una bellezza, che letizia
era negli occhi a tutti gli altri santi.
E s' io avessi in dir tanta divizia, 136
quanto ad imaginar, non ardirei
lo minimo tentar di sua delizia.
Bernardo, come vide gli occhi miei 139
nel caldo suo calor fissi ed attenti,
li suoi con tanto affetto volse a lei,
che i miei di rimirar fe' più ardenti. 142

17. *Peace and ardour.* The collocation is significant. (See *Argument.*)

25. *Secure and gladsome.* See *Argument*, and compare xxvii. 9.

31-33. Helicē was turned into a bear by Juno's

but look upon the circles, even to the remotest, until thou seest enthroned the Queen to whom this realm is subject and devoted." Church triumphant

I lifted up mine eyes, and as at morn the oriental regions of the horizon overcome that where the sun declineth,

so, as from the valley rising to the mountain, with mine eyes I saw a region at the boundary surpass all the remaining ridge in light.

And as with us that place where we await the chariot-pole that Phaëton guided ill, is most aglow, and on this side and on that the light is shorn away;

so was that pacific oriflamme quickened in the midst, on either side in equal measure tempering its flame.

And at that mid point, with outstretched wings, I saw more than a thousand Angels making festival, each one distinct in glow and function.

I saw there, smiling to their sports and to their songs, a beauty which was gladness in the eyes of all the other saints. Mary

And had I equal wealth in speech as in conception, yet dared I not attempt the smallest part of her delightsomeness.

Bernard, when he saw mine eyes fixed and eager towards the glowing source of his own glow, turned his eyes to her, with so much love that he made mine more ardent to re-gaze.

jealousy, and then transferred by Jupiter to the heavens, as the constellation of the Great Bear; her son (Orcas) being changed into Boötes.

33. The brightest star in Boötes is Arctūrus, to which the bow of the bear's tail points. If we are to

take Dante as describing the region over which Arctūrus never sets, we should have to go as far north as 70° latitude, but his notions of northern geography may have been vague; he means to indicate barbarians coming from the far north.

35, 36. Obviously the Lateran stands for Rome—the part for the whole, but many commentators seek for a special significance in the selection of this particular palace to represent the whole city. The ambiguity of the phrase, "transcended mortal things," and the natural association of the Lateran (which in Dante's time was the Papal palace) with the Church, have led some scholars to explain the passage as a reference to pilgrims from the far north coming to Rome in the days when the Church minded spiritual things. But this is obviously a mistake. The Lateran was (and is) currently believed to have been an imperial palace from the days of Nero until Constantine presented it to Pope Sylvester; and the passage doubtless refers to the amazement felt by the rude barbarians at the stupendous edifices of Rome, at the period 'when the imperial seat surpassed in magnificence all the works of man.'

64-93. "Blessed is he who loves thee and his friend in thee, and his enemy for thy sake; for he alone never loses any dear one to whom all are dear in him who is never lost" (Augustine). True union consists not in an exclusively appropriating possession of the dear one, but in the divine fruition of the union. Compare xxxiii. 100-105; also *Purg.* xix. 136-138. For the rest, note how Beatrice's human personality drops its allegorical veil and shines in its simple purity in this closing scene.

78. Compare xxx. 121-123.

88. *Magnificence* in mediæval writings is often to be

interpreted by the use of *magnificentia* in the Latin Aristotle. It is the translation of μεγαλοπρέπεια which means *munificence, i.e.* liberality or generosity, but on a grand scale. A man may be liberal with small means, but not munificent. See the table in Wallace, 40, where *vulgarity* is to be taken as *vulgar ostentation.*

102. Bernard's devotion to the Virgin Mary is expressed in his four homilies, "*De laudibus Virginis matris*," and his nine sermons for the feasts of her *Purification, Assumption, Nativity*, etc., as well as incidentally in other works. It is noteworthy that he opposed the celebration of her Immaculate Conception. His contemporary, Peter Cellensis, says of him: "He was the most intimate fosterling of Our Lady, to whom he dedicated not only one monastery, but the monasteries of the whole Cistercian order."

103-105. St. Veronica lent her kerchief to Christ to wipe his brow as he was bearing the cross, and when he returned it, it bore the impress of his features. It was exhibited at Rome annually at the New Year and at Easter. Compare *Vita Nuova*, xli.

109-111. St. Bernard was the type of contemplation, and the question was even raised whether he had not seen God "essentially" (*per essentiam*) while yet living.

124-125. The point at which the sun is about to rise.

127. The Oriflamme (*aurea flamma*) was the standard given by the Angel Gabriel to the ancient kings of France, representing a flame on a golden ground. No one who fought under it could be conquered. The golden glow of heaven is the invincible ensign not of war but peace.

132. According to mediæval angelology, each angel constituted in itself a distinct species. (Compare xxix. 136-141.)

PARADISO

BEGINNING with Mary, Bernard indicates to Dante the great distinctions of heaven. Cleaving the rose downwards into two halves run the lines that part those who looked forward to Christ about to come from those who looked back upon him after he had come. Mary, who had faith in Christ before he was conceived, ranks as a Hebrew, and John Baptist, who greeted him when still in the womb, and afterwards proclaimed him as already come, ranks as a Christian. The two aspects of the faith embrace equal numbers of saints, the one tale being already full and the other near upon it. Midway across the cleaving lines runs the circle that divides the infants who died ere they

Empireo

Affetto al suo piacer, quel contemplante
libero ufficio di dottore assunse,
e cominciò queste parole sante :

" La piaga, che Maria richiuse ed unse,
quella ch' è tanto bella da' suoi piedi
è colei che l' aperse e che la punse.

Nell' ordine, che fanno i terzi sedi,
siede Rachel di sotto da costei
con Beatrice, sì come tu vedi.

Sara, Rebecca, Judit, e colei
che fu bisava al cantor, che, per doglia
del fallo, disse : *Miserere mei*,

puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia
giù digradar, com' io ch' a proprio nome
vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia.

E dal settimo grado in giù, sì come
infino ad esso, succedono Ebree,
dirimendo del fior tutte le chiome;

had exercised free choice, and who were saved by the faith and the due observances of their parents, from those whose own acts of faith or merit have contributed to their salvation. The children are ranked in accordance with the abysmal but just and orderly judgments of God in the assignment of primal endowment (1-84). Dante then gazes in transport upon the face of Mary and sees the rejoicing Gabriel exult before her (85-114). He looks upon other great denizens of heaven, and is then bidden to turn again in prayer to Mary, that after this so great preparation he may receive from her the final grace to enable him to lift his eyes right upon the Primal Love (115-151).

Church triumphant

With his love fixed on his Delight, that contemplating saint took the free office of the teacher on him, and began these sacred words:

"The wound which Mary closed and anointed,
Eve who is so beauteous at her feet opened and thrust.

From Mary to Ruth

In the order which the third rank maketh sitteth below her, Rachel with Beatrice, even as thou seest.

Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and her from whom,
third in descent, the singer came who for
grief at his sin cried out, *Have pity on me!*

these mayst thou see from rank to rank descending; even as I, naming their proper names, go down the rose petal by petal.

And down from the seventh onward, even as thereto, follow Hebrew dames, disparting all the flower's locks;

Empireo perchè, secondo lo sguardo che fee 19
la fede in Cristo, queste sono il muro
a che si parton le sacre scalee.
Da questa parte, onde il fior è maturo 22
di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi
quei che credettero in Cristo venturo.
Dall' altra parte, onde sono intercisi 25
di voti, in semicircoli si stanno
quei ch' a Cristo venuto ebber li visi.
E come quinci il glorioso scanno 28
della donna del cielo, e gli altri scanni
di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno,
così di contra quel del gran Giovanni, 31
che sempre santo il diserto e il martiro
sofferse, e poi l' Inferno da due anni;
e sotto lui così cerner sortiro 34
Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino,
ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.
Or mira l' alto provveder divino, 37
chè l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
egualmente empierà questo giardino.
E sappi che dal grado in giù, che fiede 40
a mezzo il tratto le due discrezioni,
per nullo proprio merito si siede,
ma per l' altrui, con certe condizioni; 43
chè tutti questi son spiriti assolti
prima ch' avesser vere elezioni.
Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti, 46
ed anco per le voci puerili,
se tu li guardi bene e se gli ascolti.
Or dubbi tu, e dubitando sili; 49
ma io ti solverò il forte legame,
in che ti stringon li pensier sottili.

because, accordant with the way faith looked to Christ, these are the partition-wall whereat the sacred steps are parted. Church triumphant

On this side, wherein the flower is mature in all its petals, are seated who believed in Christ to come.

On the other side, where they are broke by empty seats, abide in semicircles such as had their sight turned towards Christ come.

And as on the one side the glorious seat of the Lady of heaven and the other seats below it make so great partition,

so, over against her, doth the seat of that great John who ever holy endured the desert and the martyr's death and thereafter Hell for two years' space ; From John to Augustine

and beneath him the making of such severance hath been assigned to Francis, Benedict and Augustine, and others down to here from circle unto circle.

Now marvel at the deep divine provision ; for either aspect of the faith, in equal measure shall fill full this garden.

And know that, downward from the rank which in mid line cleaveth the two divisions, in virtue of no merit of their own they have their seats, Children

but by another's, under fixed conditions ; for these are spirits all released ere they had exercised true choice.

Well mayst thou perceive it by their faces, and also their child-voices if thou look aright and if thou listen.

Now thou art perplexed, and in perplexity thou keepest silence ; but I will loose the hard knot for thee wherein thy subtle thoughts are binding thee.

Empireo Dentro all' ampiezza di questo reame
casual punto non puote aver sito,
se non come tristizia, o sete, o fame;

chè per eterna legge è stabilito
quantunque vedi, sì che giustamente
ci si risponde dall' anello al dito.

E però questa festinata gente
a vera vita non è *sine causa*
intra sè qui più e meno eccellente.

Lo rege, per cui questo regno pausa
in tanto amore ed in tanto diletto,
che nulla volontà è di più ausa,

le menti tutte nel suo lieto aspetto
creando, a suo piacer di grazia dota
diversamente; e qui basti l' effetto.

E ciò espresso e chiaro vi si nota
nella scrittura santa in quei gemelli,
che nella madre ebber l' ira commota.

Però, secondo il color dei capelli
di cotal grazia, l' altissimo lume
degnamente convien che s' incappelli.

Dunque, senza mercè di lor costume,
locati son per gradi differenti,
sol differendo nel primiero acume.

Bastava sì nei secoli recenti
con l' innocenza, per aver salute,
solamente la fede dei parenti;

poichè le prime etadi fur compiute,
convenne ai maschi all' innocenti penne,
per circoncidere, acquistar virtute.

Ma poichè il tempo della grazia venne,
senza battesmo perfetto di Cristo
tale innocenza laggiù si ritenne.

Within this kingdom's amplitude no chance point may have place, no more than sadness may, nor thirst, nor hunger; Church triumphant

because established by eternal law is whatsoe'er thou seest, so that the correspondence is exact between the ring and finger.

Wherefore this swift-sped folk to the true life is here, not without cause, more or less excellent in mutual order. Children

The King through whom this realm resteth in so great love and in so great delight that never Will hath daring for aught more,

as he createth all minds in his own glad sight, doth at his pleasure with grace endow them diversely; and here let the effect suffice.

And this, express and clear, is noted unto you in Holy Writ, anent those twins whose wrath was stirred within their mother's womb.

Wherefore, accordant to the colour of the locks of such grace, needs must the lofty light enchaplet them after their worth.

Wherefore, without reward for their own ways, they are placed in different ranks, differing only in their primal keenness.

Thus, in the new-born ages the parents' faith alone sufficed, with innocence, to secure salvation; Conditions of their salvation

when the first ages were complete male children behoved to gather power to their innocent wings by circumcision.

But when the time of grace had come, then without perfect baptism of Christ such innocence was held back there below.

Empireo Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a Cristo
più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
sola ti può disporre a veder Cristo."
Io vidi sopra lei tanta allegrezza
piover, portata nelle menti sante
create a trasvolar per quella altezza,
che quantunque io avea visto davante,
di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiante.
E quell' amor che primo lì discese,
cantando : *Ave, Maria, gratia plena*,
dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.
Rispose alla divina cantilena
da tutte parti la beata corte,
sì ch' ogni vista sen fe' più serena.
" O santo Padre, che per me comporte
l' esser quaggiù, lasciando il dolce loco
nel qual tu siedi per eterna sorte,
qual è quell' angel, che con tanto gioco
guarda negli occhi la nostra Regina,
innamorato sì che par di foco ? "
Così ricorsi ancora alla dottrina
di colui ch' abbelliva di Maria,
come del sole stella mattutina.
Ed egli a me : " Baldezza e leggiadria,
quant' esser può in Angelo ed in alma,
tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia,
perch' egli è quegli che portò la palma
giù a Maria, quando il figliuol di Dio
carcar si volle della nostra salma.
Ma vieni omai con gli occhi, sì com' io
andrò parlando, e nota i gran patrici
di questo imperio giustissimo e pio.

Look now upon the face which is most likened unto Christ; for its brightness, and no other, hath power to fit thee to see Christ." Church triumphant

I saw rain down upon that face such joyance (borne on the sacred minds created for flying through that lofty region), Mary

that all which I had seen before held me not in suspense of so great marvelling, nor showed me so great semblance of God.

And that Love which first descended to her, singing: *Hail, Mary, full of grace*, now spread his wings before her.

The divine canticle was answered from every side by the blest Court, so that every face thereby gathered serenity.

"O holy Father, who for my sake acceptest being here below, leaving the sweet place wherein thou sittest by eternal lot,

what is that angel who with such delight looketh our Queen in the eyes, enamoured so that he seemeth all aflame?" Gabriel

So did I turn again unto his teaching who drew beauty from Mary, as from the sun the morning star.

And he to me, "Exultancy and winsomeness as much as there may be in angel or in soul, is all in him; and we would have it so,

for he it is who brought down the palm to Mary, when the Son of God willed to load him with our burden.

But come now with thine eyes even as I shall traverse in discourse, and note the great patricians of this most just and pious empire.

Empireo Quei due che seggon lassù più felici, 118
per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
son d' esta rosa quasi due radici.
Colui che da sinistra le s' aggiusta, 121
è il padre, per lo cui ardito gusto
l' umana specie tanto amaro gusta.
Dal destro vedi quel padre vetusto 124
di santa Chiesa, cui Cristo le chiavi
raccomandò di questo fior venusto.
E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi, 127
pria che morisse, della bella sposa
che s' acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi,
siede lungh' esso ; e lungo l' altro posa 130
quel duca, sotto cui visse di manna
la gente ingrata, mobile e ritrosa.
Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna, 133
tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia,
che non move occhi per cantare Osanna.
E contro al maggior padre di famiglia 136
siede Lucia, che mosse la tua donna,
quando chinavi, a ruinar, le ciglia.
Ma perchè il tempo fugge, che t' assonna, 139
qui farem punto, come buon sartore
che, com' egli ha del panno, fa la gonna ;
e drizzeremo gli occhi al primo amore, 142
sì che, guardando verso lui, penetri,
quant' è possibil, per lo suo fulgore.
Veramente (nè forse tu t' arretri 145
movendo l' ali tue, credendo oltrarti)
orando grazia convien che s' impetri,
grazia da quella che può aiutarti ; 148
e tu mi segui con l' affezione,
sì che dal dicer mio lo cor non parti."
E cominciò questa santa orazione. 151

Those two who sit up there, most blest by being nearest to the Empress, are as two roots of this our rose. Church triumphant

He who neighboureth her upon the left is that Father because of whose audacious tasting the human race tasteth such bitterness. Adam and Peter

On the right, look upon that ancient Father of Holy Church to whom Christ commended the keys of this lovesome flower.

And he who, ere he died, saw all the grievous seasons of that fair spouse who with the lance and with the nails was won, John

sitteth by his side; and by the other resteth that leader under whom was fed by manna the folk ungrateful, fickle and mutinous. Moses

Over against Peter see Anna sit, so satisfied to gaze upon her daughter that she removeth not her eyes to sing Hosanna. Anna

And o'er against the greatest of housefathers sitteth Lucy who moved thy Lady when thou wert stooping down thy brows to thy destruction. Lucy

But since the time that doth entrance thee fleeth, here let us make a stop, like to the careful tailor who to the cloth he hath cutteth the garment;

and let us turn our eyes to the Primal Love, so that gazing toward him thou mayst pierce as far as may be into his shining.

But—lest perchance thou backward fall as thou dost ply thy wings, thinking to forward thee, —by prayer it behoveth grace to be acquired, Prayer for grace

grace from her who hath power to aid thee; and do thou follow me with such affection that from my words thy heart be severed not." And he began this holy prayer.

1-60. Compare the diagram in illustration of the Rose of Paradise in Gardner.

10-13. See *Ruth* iv. 21, 22. "Boaz [the husband of Ruth] begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David." Compare, further, *Psalm* li. (Vulgate l.) and its inscription.

33. The two years that elapsed between his martyrdom and the descent of Christ to Limbo. Compare *Inf.* iv. 52-63.

57. *Ring and finger* = the thing fitting and the thing to be fitted; here the grace that is given and the grace that would be appropriate.

66. Compare *Purg.* iii. 37.

67-79. See *Genesis* xxv. 22, 23; and compare *Parad.* viii. 130, 131.

I

To Canto XXII.

70. *The colour of the locks* seems to mean nothing more than the complexion, tone, or quality of grace.

75. *Keenness* of vision, *i.e.* power to see God.

84. It is noteworthy that Bernard himself, in a treatise addressed to Hugo of St. Victor, shrinks from the appalling conclusion that unbaptized children are doomed to Limbo. See *Inf.* iv. "We must suppose that the ancient sacraments were efficacious as long as it can be shown that they were not notoriously prohibited. And after that? It is in God's hands. Not mine be it to set the limit!"

119. *Augusta* here means the Madonna.

127–129. John the Evangelist. The allusion is not to his long life, but to the vision recorded in the *Apocalypse*, regarded as a prophecy of the future sufferings of the Church.

137, 138. See *Inf.* ii.

II

To Canto XXVII.

PARADISO

THE final goal of divine Providence, the mysteries of the incarnation and the redemption, the contrast between earthly hope and heavenly fruition, the whole order of the spiritual universe epitomised in the poet's journey, the crowning grace still awaiting him, the need of yet further purging away of mortal dross if he is to receive it, the high obligation that will rest upon his life hereafter, the sustaining grace that will be needed to enable him to meet it by keeping his affections true to so great a vision, and the intense sympathy with which all the saints enter into his aspiration and plead for the fulfilment of the utmost grace to him as a part of their own bliss,—all this, with the praises of the Virgin, etherealised into the very perfume of devotion, rises in Bernard's prayer to Mary (1-39). Mary answers the prayer by looking into the light of God, thereby to gain Bernard's petition for Dante; and Dante, anticipating Bernard's permission, with the passion of his longing already assuaged by the peace of now assured fruition, looks right into the deep light (40-54). Memory cannot hold the experience that then was his, though it retains the sweetness that was born of it. But as he gropes for the recovery of some fragment of his vision, he feels in the throb of an ampler joy the assurance that he is touching on the truth as he records his belief that he saw the whole essence of the universe, all beings and all their attributes and all their relations, no longer as scattered and imperfect fragments, but as one perfect whole, and that whole naught else

Empireo " Vergine madre, figlia del tuo figlio,
umile ed alta più che creatura,
termine fisso d' eterno consiglio,

than one single flame of love. So keen is the light of that flame that it would shrivel up the sight if it should turn aside. But that may not be, since *good*, which is the object of all volition, is whole and perfect in it, and only fragmentary and imperfect away from it, so that a free will cannot by its nature turn away; and the sight is ever strengthened that turns right into it (55-105). As when we look upon a picture or a script, glorious but at first imperfectly mastered by us, and as our eyes slowly adjust themselves, the details rise and assert themselves and take their places, and all the while that the impression changes and deepens, the thing that we look upon changes not, nor even seems to change, but only we, to see it clearer, so Dante's kindling vision reads deeper and deeper into the unchanging glory of the triune Deity, till his mind fastens itself upon the contemplation of the union (in the second Person) of the circle of Deity and the featured countenance of humanity—the unconditioned self-completeness of God that reverent thought asserts, and the character and features which the heart demands, and which its experience proclaims,—but his powers fail to grapple with the contradiction till the reconciliation is brought home to him in a flash of exalted insight. Then the vision passes away and may not be recalled, but already all jarring protest and opposition to the divine order has given way in the seer's heart to oneness of wish and will with God, who himself is love (106-145).

" Virgin mother, daughter of thy son, lowly and uplifted more than any creature, fixed goal of the eternal counsel, Church triumphant

Empireo tu se' colei, che l' umana natura 4
nobilitasti sì che il suo Fattore
non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.
Nel ventre tuo si ráccese l' amore, 7
per lo cui caldo nell' eterna pace
così è germinato questo fiore.
Qui sei a noi meridiana face 10
di caritate, e giuso, intra i mortali,
sei di speranza fontana vivace.
Donna, sei tanto grande e tanto vali, 13
che qual vuol grazia ed a te non ricorre,
sua disianza vuol volar senz' ali.
La tua benignità non pur soccorre 16
a chi domanda, ma molte fiate
liberamente al domandar precorre.
In te misericordia, in te pietate, 19
in te magnificenza, in te s' aduna
quantunque in creatura è di bontate.
Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna 22
dell' universo infin qui ha vedute
le vite spiritali ad una ad una,
supplica a te, per grazia, di virtute 25
tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
più alto verso l' ultima salute ;
ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi 28
più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi
ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi,
perchè tu ogni nube gli disleghi 31
di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,
sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.
Ancor ti prego, Regina che puoi 34
ciò che tu vuoli, che conservi sani,
dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.

Church triumphant

thou art she who didst human nature so ennoble that its own Maker scorned not to become its making.

In thy womb was lit again the love under whose warmth in the eternal peace this flower hath thus unfolded.

Praise of Mary

Here art thou unto us the meridian torch of love, and there below with mortals art a living spring of hope.

Lady, thou art so great and hast such worth, that if there be who would have grace yet betaketh not himself to thee, his longing seeketh to fly without wings.

Thy kindliness not only succoureth whoso requesteth, but doth oftentimes freely forerun request.

In thee is tenderness, in thee is pity, in thee munificence, in thee united whatever in created being is of excellence.

Prayer for Dante

Now he who from the deepest pool of the universe even to here hath seen the spirit-lives, one by one,

imploreth thee, of grace, for so much power as to be able to uplift his eyes more high towards final bliss ;

and I, who never burned for my own vision more than I do for his, proffer thee all my prayers, and pray they be not scant,

that thou do scatter for him every cloud of his mortality with prayers of thine, so that the joy supreme may be unfolded to him.

And further do I pray thee, Queen who canst do all that thou wilt, that thou keep sound for him, after so great a vision, his affections.

Empireo Vinca tua guardia i movimenti umani ; 37
vedi Beatrice con quanti beati
per li miei preghi ti chiudon le mani."
Gli occhi da Dio diletti e venerati, 40
fissi nell' orator, ne dimostraro
quanto i devoti preghi le son grati.
Indi all' eterno lume si drizzaro, 43
nel qual non si de' creder che s' invii
per creatura l' occhio tanto chiaro.
Ed io ch' al fine di tutti i disii 46
m' appropinquava, sì com' io dovea,
l' ardor del desiderio in me finii.
Bernardo m' accennava, e sorridea, 49
perch' io guardassi suso : ma io era
già per me stesso tal qual ei volea ;
chè la mia vista, venendo sincera, 52
e più e più entrava per lo raggio
dell' alta luce, che da sè è vera.
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio 55
che il parlar nostro ch' a tal vista cede,
e cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.
Qual è colui che somniando vede, 58
chè dopo il sogno la passione impressa
rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede ;
cotal son io, chè quasi tutta cessa 61
mia visione, ed ancor mi distilla
nel cor lo dolce che nacque da essa.
Così la neve al sol si disigilla, 64
così al vento nelle foglie lievi
si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.
O somma luce, che tanto ti levi 67
dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,

Let thy protection vanquish human ferments ; see Beatrice, with how many Saints, for my prayers folding hands." **Church triumphant**

Those eyes, of God beloved and venerated, fixed upon him who prayed, showed us how greatly devout prayers please her.

Then to the eternal light they bent themselves, wherein we may not ween that any creature's eye findeth its way so clear. **Mary**

And I, who to the goal of all my longings was drawing nigh, even as was meet, the ardour of the yearning quenched within me.

Bernard gave me the sign and smiled to me that I should look on high, but I already of myself was such as he would have me ; **Dante looketh upon God**

because my sight, becoming purged, now more and more was entering through the ray of the deep light which in itself is true.

Thenceforward was my vision mightier than our discourse, which faileth at such sight, and faileth memory at so great outrage.

As is he who dreaming seeth, and when the dream is gone the impression stamped remaineth, and naught else cometh to the mind again ;

even such am I ; for almost wholly faileth me my vision, yet doth the sweetness that was born of it still drop within my heart.

So doth the snow unstamp it to the sun, so to the wind on the light leaves was lost the Sibyl's wisdom.

O light supreme, who so far dost uplift thee o'er mortal thoughts, re-lend unto my mind a little of what then thou didst seem,

Empireo e fa la lingua mia tanto possente, 70
ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
possa lasciare alla futura gente ;

chè, per tornare alquanto a mia memoria, 73
e per sonare un poco in questi versi,
più si conceperà di tua vittoria.

Io credo, per l' acume ch' io soffersi 76
del vivo raggio, ch' io sarei smarrito,
se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi.

E mi ricorda ch' io fui più ardito 79
per questo a sostener tanto ch' io giunsi
l' aspetto mio col valor infinito.

O abbondante grazia, ond' io presunsi 82
ficcar lo viso per la luce eterna
tanto che la veduta vi consunsi !

Nel suo profondo vidi che s' interna, 85
legato con amore in un volume,
ciò che per l' universo si squaderna ;

sustanzia ed accidenti, e lor costume, 88
quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,
che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.

La forma universal di questo nodo 91
credo ch' io vidi, perchè più di largo,
dicendo questo, mi sento ch' io godo.

Un punto solo m' è maggior letargo, 94
che venticinque secoli alla impresa,
che fe' Nettuno ammirar l' ombra d' Argo.

Così la mente mia, tutta sospesa, 97
mirava fissa, immobile ed attenta,
e sempre del mirar faceasi accesa.

A quella luce cotal si diventa, 100
che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
è impossibil che mai si consenta.

and give my tongue such power that it may leave only a single sparkle of thy glory unto the folk to come; Church triumphant

for by returning to my memory somewhat, and by a little sounding in these verses, more of thy victory will be conceived.

I hold that by the keenness of the living ray which I endured I had been lost, had mine eyes turned aside from it.

And so I was the bolder, as I mind me, so long to sustain it as to unite my glance with the Worth infinite.

Oh grace abounding, wherein I presumed to fix my look on the eternal light so long that I wearied my sight thereon!

Within its depths I saw ingathered, bound by love in one volume, the scattered leaves of all the universe;

substance and accidents and their relations, as though together fused, after such fashion that what I tell of is one simple flame.

The universal form of this complex I think that I beheld, because more largely, as I say this, I feel that I rejoice. The form of the universe

A single moment maketh a deeper lethargy for me than twenty and five centuries have wrought on the emprise that erst threw Neptune in amaze at Argo's shadow.

Thus all suspended did my mind gaze fixed, immovable, intent, ever enkindled by its gazing.

Such at that light doth man become that to turn thence to any other sight could not by possibility be ever yielded.

Empireo Però che il ben, ch' è del volere obbietto,
tutto s' accoglie in lei, e fuor di quella
è difettivo ciò che lì è perfetto.

Omai sarà più corta mia favella,
pure a quel ch' io ricordo, che di un fante
che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella.

Non perchè più ch' un semplice sembiante
fosse nel vivo lume ch' io mirava,
che tal è sempre qual era davante ;

ma per la vista che s' avvalorava
in me, guardando, una sola parvenza,
mutandom' io, a me si travagliava.

Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
di tre colori e d' una continenza ;

e l' un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,
parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco
che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri.

O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco
al mio concetto ! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi,
è tanto che non basta a dicer poco.

O luce eterna, che sola in te sidi,
sola t' intendi, e, da te intelletta
ed intendente te, ami ed arridi !

Quella circulazion, che sì concetta
pareva in te come lume riflesso,
dagli occhi miei alquanto circonspetta,

dentro da sè del suo colore stesso
mi parve pinta della nostra effige,
per che il mio viso in lei tutto era messo.

Qual è 'l geometra che tutto s' affige
per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova,
pensando, quel principio ond' egli indige ;

For the good, which is the object of the will, is therein wholly gathered, and outside it that same thing is defective which therein is perfect. **Church triumphant**

Now shall my speech fall farther short even of what I can remember, than an infant's who still bathes his tongue at the breast.

Not that more than a single semblance was in the living light whereon I looked, which ever is such as it was before ;

but by the sight that gathered strength in me one sole appearance, even as I changed, worked on my gaze.

In the profound and shining being of the deep light appeared to me three circles, of three colours and one magnitude ; **The Three in One**

one by the second as Iris by Iris seemed reflected, and the third seemed a fire breathed equally from one and from the other.

Oh but how scant the utterance, and how faint, to my conception ! and it, to what I saw, is such that it sufficeth not to call it little.

O Light eternal who only in thyself abidest, only thyself dost understand, and self-understood, self-understanding, turnest love on and smilest at thyself !

That circling which appeared in thee to be conceived as a reflected light, by mine eyes scanned some little,

in itself, of its own colour, seemed to be painted with our effigy, and thereat my sight was all committed to it. **The circle and the features**

As the geometer who all sets himself to measure the circle and who findeth not, think as he may, the principle he lacketh ;

Empireo tale era io a quella vista nuova :
veder voleva, come si convenne
l' imago al cerchio, e come vi s' indova ;
ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne ;
se non che la mia mente fu percossa
da un fulgore, in che sua voglia venne.
All' alta fantasia qui mancò possa ;
ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*,
sì come rota ch' egualmente è mossa,
l' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle.

6. The Son, when he became man, was *made* in the Virgin's womb, and so by human nature.

20. Compare xxxi. 88, *note*.

44, 45. Compare iv. 30.

49-51. This furnishes one of several consistent indications that in Paradise one can see that at which he is not looking. This is one of the subtle ways in which Dante indicates that all spatial and temporal terms in Paradise are merely symbolical.

65, 66. The Cumæan Sybil wrote her oracles on leaves, which the wind then scattered in confusion. *Æneid*, iii. 441 *sqq.*, vi. 74 *sqq.*

88. Compare iii. 29, *note*.

91. This *knot* or *complex* = the universe.

96. When the vision broke, a single moment plunged the actual thing he saw into a deeper oblivion than five and twenty centuries had wrought over the voyage of the Argonauts. The memory of an intent gaze, of deepening vision, of absorbed volition, of a final flash of insight—the assured possession of a will and affections laid to rest by the sweetness of what came to him —the uncertain impression of the images and symbols

such was I at this new seen spectacle; I would perceive how the image consorteth with the circle, and how it settleth there; Church triumphant

but not for this were my proper wings, save that my mind was smitten by a flash wherein its will came to it.

To the high fantasy here power failed; but already my desire and will were rolled—even as a wheel that moveth equally—by the Love that moves the sun and the other stars. The end

amid which it came—all these remain: but the vision itself is utterly past recall. *Cf.* i. 4-9.

The Argo was the first ship—a new thing to Neptune.

118-120. Compare x. 2; xii. 10-15.

133-135. The problem loosely described as "squaring the circle" is stated by Dante with his usual accuracy. The radius and circumference of a circle being incommensurable, it is impossible to express the circumference exactly in terms of the radius—as impossible as it is to express deity in terms of humanity. The radius being the unit, then, the circle cannot be exactly *measured*. There is no difficulty in constructing (by means of a cycloid) a square equal in area to a given circle. But compare *Conv.* ii. 14: 218.

142-145. "The whole work was undertaken, not for a speculative but for a practical end." And again: "the purpose of the whole [the *Comedy*] and of this portion [the *Paradiso*] is to remove those who are living in this life from the state of wretchedness, and to lead them to the state of blessedness."—*Epist. ad Can. Grand.* 273-275 and 267-270 (§§ 16 and 15).

NOTE ON DANTE'S PARADISE

THE cosmography of the *Comedy* is much simpler and easier of comprehension than is usually supposed, but it is not within the scope of this work to enter into its details. The geographical side of it is sufficiently touched upon in the notes to Canto xxvii.; and the general principles of its astronomy are developed, with a lucidity that cannot be surpassed, by Dante himself in Chapters 3 and 4 of Book ii. of the *Convivio*. An excellent popular exposition of the whole system will be found in Witte's *Essays on Dante*[1] (Essay iv., "Dante's Cosmography"); and the account of the *Ptolemaic System* in any book of astronomy or cyclopædia will give an adequate general exposition of it.

The general principle by which we may pass from modern conceptions of astronomy to those which we find in the *Comedy* may be arrived at thus: We still speak of the heavenly bodies rising and setting, and revolving from East to West, although we believe that the appearances so described are really caused by the daily revolution of the earth round her axis from West to East. If we carry through the same principle of describing what we see, instead of what we believe, we shall substitute for all the other movements which we believe the earth to make, descriptions of movements in the heavenly bodies which would produce the same effect; and we shall then be speaking the language of Greek and mediæval astronomy, which corresponds immediately with the actual appearances. Thus, for the annual motion of the earth round the sun from West to East we shall substitute an annual motion of the sun round the earth. We shall continue to speak of the planets revolving round the centre of the system from West to

[1] *Essays on Dante.* By Dr Karl Witte, etc. Duckworth, 1898.

East, as we do now; but the apparent complications in their movements due to the fact that while they are perpetually changing their position *we* too are revolving round the centre and so perpetually changing our point of view, we shall account for by supposing that *they* engraft upon their primary movement round the centre a secondary backward and forward movement in a circle, which now delays and now accelerates their progress from West to East. This is what the ancient and mediæval astronomers did. They supposed, therefore, that each planet (besides partaking the daily movement of the heavens) had two motions, one on a greater sphere, or cycle, revolving round the earth as its centre, and another on a smaller sphere, or epicycle, revolving round a point on the equator of the greater sphere. In the case of the exterior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, the cycle corresponds to the planet's own movements round the sun, and the epicycle to ours. In the case of the inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, this must be reversed. Lastly, the slow top-like movement by which the direction of the earth's axis changes with respect to the fixed stars, causing what is known as the "precession of the equinoxes," will be described as a slow movement of all the fixed stars with respect to the pole of the daily revolution of the heavens. Thus it will be seen that the fundamental geometrical problems of ancient and modern astronomy are identical, and consist in resolving apparently complicated and irregular movements into a combination of simple and regular ones; and, accordingly, the solutions found by the ancient astronomers hold perfectly good, as far as they go, to the present day, and are incorporated in modern astronomy.

It is important thus to form a clear conception of the universe as it presented itself to Dante if we wish to enter into full imaginative sympathy with him, and to reach a point of view from which we can understand how the spiritual and material worlds stood related in his conception, and the associations with which the phenomena of nature blended in his mind, and also to appreciate the scientific value of his observations.

But for the direct appreciation of the *Paradise*, little is needed in the first instance beyond a clear conception of the succession of the several heavenly bodies through which Dante ascends, and the moral and spiritual associations which they carry.

If the reader will take any diagram of the solar system as conceived in our day, and simply exchange the places of the sun and the earth (placing the earth, with her satellite the moon, in the centre of the diagram, and placing the sun where he finds the earth marked), he will have the order in which Dante, travelling upwards from the earth, reaches 1 the Moon, 2 Mercury, 3 Venus, 4 the Sun, 5 Mars, 6 Jupiter, 7 Saturn, 8 the constellation of Gemini, 9 the invisible vault beyond the Stars, 10 the Essential Heaven of Light and Love.

The accompanying table will shew the general scheme of the poem. Dante's number scheme is always based on *three* subdivided into *seven*, raised, by additions of a character differing from the rest, to *nine*, and by a last addition on an entirely different plane to *ten*.

In the infra-solar heavens, Dante meets souls whom some earthy weakness or stain has so far shorn of what once were their spiritual possibilities, that though the quality of their joy is entirely pure and unalloyed, it is of lesser intensity than it might have been had they been altogether true. Perhaps we may trace, specifically, want of unshaken *faith*, and the partial substitution of earthly for heavenly *hope* and of earthly for heavenly *love* in those three heavens. It was believed that the conical shadow cast through space by the earth, reached as far as the sphere of Venus. The symbolic significance of this does not need further insisting upon.

The sun, the great *luminary*, is connected with *prudence*, the leader of the moral or cardinal virtues (see *Purg.* xxix. 130-132), taken in its widest sense; and the other cardinal virtues follow; indicating that the tone and colour of the spiritual fruition of the souls is influenced by the incidence of the moral warfare by which it was earned.

Subtle analogies and hints throughout suggest the

astrological appropriateness of the several planets as the places of manifestation of the several groups of souls.

In the constellation of Gemini all the souls are gathered together and are once more manifested to the poet though he only holds converse with members of the one supreme group to which the Apostles and our First Father belong.

In like manner the Angels are manifested in the ninth heaven or *Primum Mobile.*

But none of these nine heavens is the true abode of any spirit. They are but the symbolically appropriate meeting places appointed for Dante and the several groups of spirits. God and all blessed spirits, whether men or angels, dwell where all space is *here* and all time is *now* in the Empyrean Heaven, which the poet's vision finally reaches and where it ends.

		Empyrean	10 Wherein dwell God. His angels and His Redeemed	Heaven of Light and Love, beyond space and time, wherein Spirits *abide*
The Seven Planetary Heavens		**ix. Primum Mobile**	9 Angels	Heavens of space, wherein spirits *are manifested* to the poet on his pilgrimage
		viii. Stellar Heaven	8 Souls	
	III. Supra-solar	vii. Saturn	7 Temperance	
		vi. Jupiter	6 Justice	
		v. Mars	5 Fortitude	
	II. Solar	iv. Sun	4 Prudence	
	I. Infra-solar	iii. Venus	3 Earthly love	
		ii. Mercury	2 Ambition	
		i. Moon	1 Inconstancy	

What shall then give delight shall not be so much that our wants are put to rest nor that our bliss is gained, but that God's will shall be visibly fulfilled in us and concerning us; which also is what we implore day by day in prayer, when we say *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.*—BERNARD.

GENERAL EDITORIAL NOTE

The present edition of the "Paradiso" *has been specially prepared for* "The Temple Classics," *by the* Rev. Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. (*who is responsible for the English version and for the Arguments*), *and* Mr H. Oelsner, M.A., Ph.D. (*who is responsible for the Italian text, based on the editions of* Witte, Moore *and* Casini). Mr Wicksteed *and* Mr Oelsner *are jointly responsible for the notes at the end of each Canto.*

Maps and Charts have been inserted, and no pains have been spared to provide the text, translation, and annotation in one small volume.

L. G.

October 13, 1899.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The preceding translation of the *Paradiso* was undertaken for the sole purpose of enabling the publisher to bring out a cheap edition of the text, accompanied with an English version. It claims no merit except having accomplished this purpose. Still less does it claim any superiority over its predecessors, or wish to enter into rivalry with them.

The translator has attempted first and foremost to satisfy himself as to the author's exact meaning, and then to express it (1) precisely, (2) with lucidity, (3) worthily, (4) with as close adherence to the vocabulary and syntax of the original as English idiom allows. He has consciously adopted a happy turn of expression in one passage from Mr Norton's translation, and in two cases he has borrowed words he had not himself been fortunate enough to hit upon from Mr Butler. The many other coincidences with these (and doubtless other) translations arose, to the best of his belief, independently.

The skill of a translator is shown in his power of so pursuing any one of the objects he has in view as to make it at the same time advance, or at any rate not obstruct the others; but wherever he fails in this, his principles of translation will declare themselves in the conscious or unconscious scale of equivalence whereby he adjusts their rival claims. What gain in one direction will he consider the equivalent of a given loss in another? Such a scale cannot be drawn out in words, and therefore no translator can accurately define his own principles of translation; but the order in which the objects aimed at have been enumerated above will indicate the translator's general conception of his task.

That translator of Dante, and particularly of the

Paradiso, is not to be envied who can issue his work without a grieved sense of something near akin to profanation, in that he has striven, counter to Dante's own protest, (see *Conv.* i. 7: 89-91) to "expound the sense of his poems where they themselves cannot take it together with their beauty"; and, moreover, in the *Paradiso*, if anywhere, the beauty is itself at once an integral and an untransferable part of the sense. The translator's hope is that all who read his translation may find their eye turning from time to time to Dante's words, till they are insensibly taught to understand and love them; and that, in the great majority of cases, his work from the first may be taken only as a help to the understanding of Dante's words, not as a substitute for them.

The Arguments have been prepared with special care, in the hope that they may be helpful to the beginner, and of interest to the more advanced student, as an attempt to facilitate the perception of the perspective, the articulation, and the wider significance of the several portions of the poem.

P. H. W.

The notes at the end of each Canto are to be taken in close connection with the Arguments, which, when carefully read, will be found to contain, directly or by implication, many explanations that the reader may perhaps have looked for in vain in the notes.

In the notes we have tried to give what help we can to the reader unacquainted with the classics, both by marking quantities and by explaining, as far as space allowed, even the more obvious classical allusions, but by no means so uniformly or fully as to supersede the constant use of a classical dictionary.

We have given references throughout to the most important illustrative passages from the Bible, but have seldom given the words. We have also assumed that the reader who is desirous of further information has access to all Dante's works, to Gardner's *Dante Primer* (Dent & Sons, 3s. 6d.), to Wallace's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle* (Pitt Press Series, 4s. 6d.), and to Selfe and Wicksteed's *Selections from Villani's Chronicle* (Archibald Constable, 6s.). When we have wished to

refer to other writers, we have generally given their own words, merely adding the author's name without more specific reference. The *lines* given in the references to Dante's works are those of Dr Moore's "Oxford Dante."

Our obligations cannot be acknowledged in detail. They include the generally accessible commentaries and other sources of information. Amongst recent works we have found Mr Paget Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*[1] specially useful. Many dates and some historical and biographical details have been taken direct from it.

We have not dealt in any systematic or consistent way with questions of disputed readings; and we have seldom touched upon controversial matter and never upon æsthetic points or upon allegorical refinements, but in addition to explaining references, we have endeavoured to deal, however concisely, with the more serious difficulties of the thought and teaching of the poem, so as to make our Commentary, within its limits, as complete as possible. But in these weightier matters the reader must, after all, be his own commentator; for, as one of the earliest and best of Dante scholars (Benvenuto da Imola) has remarked: "It is rather great wit than great learning that is needed for the understanding of this book."

H. O.
P. H. W.

[1] *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, by Paget Toynbee, M.A. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1898. Price, 25s. net.

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